



Small streams make big rivers:

Exploring motivation and idealism in Norwegian personalised aid initiatives in the Gambia

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Abstract

Little is known about personalised aid organisations in Norway, and those initiatives are not recognised as part of the official Norwegian development aid structure. The organisations are small in size and by themselves do not raise enormous amounts of money, nor do they individually have a massive developmental effect. But collectively it is believed that their influence, both on sponsors in Norway as well as on aid recipients in the Global South, is quite substantial. This study explores the motivation of initiators of six personalised aid organisation in Norway, which all run development projects in the Gambia. The characteristics of a personalised aid organisation are often linked to the motivation of the initiative's founder, such as the small size of the organisation which allows the aid worker to be close to and exert considerable control over the project. However, the personal control raises questions about project ownership and sustainability. The study finds that, in as much as there is a need for help at the recipient level, donors are also motivated by an inherent need to help.

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1. Introduction

If you ask a Norwegian person if he or she knows anyone running or supporting a small aid organisation, chances are that most people will know of someone, but very little is known about these personalised aid initiatives: How many are there in Norway? Individually and collectively, how much money do they raise? Where do they work and what types of development work are they involved in? How do they make decision about what they do? And why do they do what they do? There are so far many more questions than there are answers.

It is believed that even though the individual organisation are small in size and by themselves do not raise enormous amounts of funds or have a massive developmental effect, collectively their influence, both on sponsors in Norway as well as on aid recipients in the Global South (henceforth referred to simply as the South), might be quite substantial.

In Norway, hardly any research exists about these personalised aid (PAID) initiatives and organisations and they are not recognised as a part of the development aid landscape in Norway. There are no formal requirements guiding or controlling the PAID initiatives in Norway, and there are no legal obligations for the organisations to register their activities anywhere. The organisations are thus free to start fundraising and initiating projects wherever they perceive that the help is most needed without having to adhere to any development aid policies or any regulations or laws in Norway.

A quick internet search supports the assumption that the PAID organisations are a wide-spread phenomenon in Norway. A Google search using keywords such as “startet sin egen hjelpeorganisasjon” (“started own aid organisation”), “startet barnehjem fattig” (“started orphanage poor”), “barnehjem asia” (“orphanage asia”) and “fadder afrika” (“child sponsor africa”) produces many relevant stories and webpages, but still the personalised aid initiatives remain outside the mainstream development scene, and are viewed rather as a heart-warming and emotional story to be told in the local press or through the organisations’ own webpages:



Illustration 1: Personalised aid. Newspaper clippings and websites

The research, on which this thesis is based, links in with emerging research on “personalised aid” (PAID) driven by Hanne Haaland and Hege Wallevik at the University of Agder. Their working definition of “personalised aid” is:

Development projects run by individuals (one or more) in the North, that are based on established resource flows between individual givers in the North and their receivers in the South. These initiatives can range from being loosely organized and run on an ad-

hoc manner and part-time basis to structured initiatives with a more permanent set-up and on a full time basis. (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013c)

The PAID initiatives are characterised by and distinguished from more established non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) their small scale, that they are based on voluntary work and that they do not receive funding from the national aid budget (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 52). These definitions of the PAID initiatives will guide this thesis.

Haaland and Wallevik (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013c) differentiate between two types of PAID organisations. The first group, the “accidental aid workers”, comprises of people who, with no prior development experience, start an aid organisation, often based on an initial, emotional chance encounter with poverty whilst travelling. The other type, the “aid entrepreneurs”, consists of people who purposefully create their own job within the aid sector, often based on a prior work experience in the South. This study is concerned with the first category; the “accidental aid worker”.

The terms “organisation” and “initiative”, and in some instances “project”, will be used interchangeably in this thesis. This study’s respondents call their projects “organisation” when speaking English, but in Norwegian they refer to their projects as “association” or “foundation” (forening). The English word “foundation” can also be translated to mean “stiftelse” in Norwegian, but this denotation carries a set of legal implications, and has thus not been used in this thesis. In Norwegian, the word “organisasjon” (organisation), the interviewees explained, has connotations of a larger, more formal and more organised unit than what they perceive their own initiatives to be, and was thus used not in Norwegian.

As so little is known about the PAID organisations in Norway, it seemed appropriate to start with the beginning; why do people start their own development organisation? What is their motivation and why do they do what they do? Do people help others without concerns for themselves, or do they in some ways gain from helping? The thesis will discuss why people decide to help and give, and the characteristics of the particular format for the aid, the PAID organisation, will be discussed.

The objective that has guided the research for this thesis has been to explore the motivational factors influencing the start-up of and continued engagement in personalised aid initiatives in Norway. I have explored this objective through the following research questions:

1. What are the main motivational factors influencing a person to start his/her own small development aid organisation?

2. What drives the person to continue the PAID work?

3. What are some of the external factors influencing the person's PAID organisation's work?

The thesis offers an exploration of and an insight into six different PAID organisations in Norway which all run development initiatives in the Gambia. The main focus is on the organisations' founders' motivations to start the PAID organisation and to continue the work, but also interesting additional characteristics and themes have emerged from the interviews conducted for this thesis. The sample size is small, so the thesis will not draw any definite conclusions towards a theory on PAID organisations in Norway, but the findings might support and spur further research into the field of personalised aid. Data emerging from the interviews conducted for this thesis will be compared with findings from European research on PAID initiatives, as well as from early findings coming out of research from the University of Agder. The data will also be compared across the organisations interviewed.

The next chapter will give a short overview over the international regime and of how development aid is organised in Norway, and it places the Norwegian PAID initiatives into this context. Some characteristics about Norway that may have instilled a national consciousness of and a need to support the Norwegian development aid regime will also be discussed. An overview over the main features of a PAID organisation will be given, before a presentation of research on PAID in Europe and in Norway is offered. The chapter ends with a short introduction to the cases that took part in this study.

Chapter three lays out the theories that have underpinned this study. The relationship between altruism and self-interested helping is considered, and Maslow's theory of motivation is utilised towards this understanding. The chapter ends with a discussion about what giving and the gift mean for development aid.

Chapter four explains the methodological approaches and decisions that were taken in this study. The thesis is qualitative in its approach and is built on a collective case study of six organisations. The chapter describes the data collection and analysis methods, and raises some of the ethical questions and research limitations that were considered during the work with this thesis.

Chapter five offers a presentation of each of the six organisations that took part in this study. Each case is presented separately but around the same structure based on the above research questions: the background of the organisation; the founder's motivation for starting the PAID organisation; the founder's motivation for continuing the PAID work; and the external factors that might influence the organisation.

Chapter six presents an analysis and discussion of the finding in the previous chapter. The chapter follows the same structure as chapter five, but all cases are collated and similarities and differences are discussed in light of the literature review and the theoretical framework.

Chapter seven presents some interview findings and observations that fall outside the scope of this thesis, but that are nevertheless considered interesting towards further research on the PAID phenomenon. The chapter looks at some of the perceptions that the PAID organisations might have of “the others” – the people at the receiving end of their assistance. The chapter also briefly discusses whether the PAID phenomenon is gender balanced or not. The chapter ends with a brief glimpse into current political affairs in the Gambia, and links/delinks the current state of affairs with the work of the PAID organisations.

The thesis ends with some concluding remarks on the main themes that have emerged from this study.

2. Background and literature review

As stated in the introduction, this thesis examines some of the underlying reasons for why people in Norway decide to set up their own aid initiatives for overseas development assistance. If there is a perceived need to help people in other countries, why do some individuals take the matter into their own hands and start a new small aid organisation? Could they simply not support an established aid organisation in Norway? This chapter starts by looking at some of the common traits that PAID organisations have, as well as some of the critique that has been raised of these initiatives. The chapter then looks at the international development aid regime and locates the PAID organisations in the official development discourse. A literature review of the PAID phenomenon from both Europe and Norway is then presented. The chapter ends with a short overview over process for selecting the cases that took part in this study.

2.1 The international development aid regime

Overseas development programmes are often seen as having been started with the Marshall Plan for Western Europe in the wake of the Second World War (WW II), before becoming a part of wider world politics in the following decades (McNeill, 2006, p. 276). However, approaches to development have changed drastically over the decades. In the early days, economic growth and modernisation, and a strong belief in a “trickle-down” effect, was coupled with active politics by the West to promote capitalism and prevent communism (McNeill, 2006, p. 276).

In the 1960s and -70s, many development researcher and practitioners became increasingly concerned that economic growth did not yield a “trickle-down” effect and overall reduction in poverty (McNeill, 2006, p. 277). In the 1970s, “basic needs”, such as better health and access to education, were increasingly considered the path to development (McNeill, 2006, p. 277).

By the 1980s, it was clear to most donors that the development interventions of the past decades had failed, and, based on the donor-countries’ prevailing neo-liberal politics, aid was increasingly given with conditionalities of structural adjustments; open markets, free trade, privatisation and state de-centralisation (McNeill, 2006, p. 291).

After the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, development aid no longer needed to serve as a buffer against communism. The previous decades’ approaches to development had not worked, and the structural adjustment policies were not yielding results either. Development policies, thus,

moved towards a middle ground with more focus on political changes; “good governance”, as well as on human capital and on access to basic services (McNeill, 2006, p. 278). The first Human Development Report (HDR) was issued in 1990 and shifted in the development debate, as people were put back on the development agenda. The HDR moved beyond income measurements as a goal for long-term human well-being (UNDP, 1990) and development was now being defined as the process of enlarging people’s choices (UNDP, 1997, p. 15).

The 2011 Busan High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness marked a turning point in international discussions on aid and development, with the signing of a joint framework for development cooperation (OECD, 2011). The four main points of this agreement were: ownership of development results; focus on results; partnerships; and transparency and shared responsibility (NORAD, 2012a; OECD, 2011). The overall focus is indeed much more on cooperation and on recipients influencing the decision-making and implementation processes of development programmes.

2.2 Official development aid and support in Norway

Norway’s official aid budget for 2015 amounted to NOK 34.5 billion, which is 1.05 per cent of Norway’s gross national income (GNI) (NORAD, 2016a). The Norwegian government makes decisions about how much of the state’s budget will be allocated towards Overseas Development Aid (ODA), it is also responsible for framing the development aid policies and co-operation strategies (NORAD, 2011). Development aid is then dispersed through different channels, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norwegian Embassies and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), amongst others.

Public support for aid remains high and fairly stable in Norway (OECD-DAC, 2013). According to a OECD DAC report (2008), 90% of the Norwegian population are positive to Norway’s development aid support, and according to a NORAD survey (2012b), 60% of the population maintain that Norway has a duty to support other countries. However, despite the generally high levels of public support, the same NORAD survey also shows that the Norwegian public knows very little about what the development aid funds are spent on and what the Norwegian development cooperation policies are. For instance, only 1% of respondents were able to name the country that receives the most development aid from Norway. Only 34 % of the respondents stated that they were interested in knowing what the development aid funds are spent on, and also 22% believed that Norway’s development aid programmes are not yielding good results. There seems to be a disparity between

the overall public support for development aid and the knowledge about and trust in the official aid projects. Can these findings to some extent explain why people start or support a PAID organisation?

In Norway, official aid is given mainly through three channels: 1) as bilateral aid (direct country-to-country assistance); 2) as multilateral aid (such as aid channelled through the United Nations and the World Bank); and 3) as “civilateral” aid (indirect aid dispersed by NORAD for a wide diversity of projects in various countries), mainly allocated to established NGOs (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009, pp. 912-913). However, the world of aid is larger than these three channels of official aid, and is increasingly complex (Pollet, Habraken, Schulpen, & Huyse, 2014, p. 7). Develtere and De Bruyn (2009, pp. 913-914) point to a fourth aid channel which is not counted as part of official ODA, which they call “the fourth pillar”. This channel is also called the “the philanthral aid channel” (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 49), referring to philanthropy which is described as “the practice of giving money and time to help make life better for other people” (Merriam-Webster, 2016). This branch of development aid consists of a number of non-specialist unions, organisations, foundations, social non-profit movements, companies, and sports clubs amongst others, which all have a unique interest in forging ties with the South (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009, p. 913; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 50), and it is in this category that the PAID organisations are located. In Norway, this category is not recognised as an entity in its own right by the main development actors, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, NORAD and the larger NGDOs. On one level, there is recognition that these organisations exist, for instance NORAD’s magazine *Bistandsaktuelt* has featured some stories about the phenomenon (see *Bistandsaktuelt*, 2015; Bolle, 2015; Mikalsen, 2015), and the Norwegian Control Committee for Fundraising (*Innsamlingskontrollen*) establish contact with some of the organisations, but on another level the PAID organisations are seen as non-entities and not viewed as serious development actors.

2.3 PAID organisations and official development discourse

The above short introduction of development aid and development cooperation is the history of official ODA; the aid provided by states and routed through the three main channels of bilateral, multi-lateral and civilateral support. The PAID organisations are not run by development professionals and thus lack knowledge about what development aid is and should be (Haaland & Wallevik, 2015). This might partially explain why PAID initiatives run development projects that the mainstream development actors would consider old-fashioned and out-dated; directly supporting tangible projects, such as building schools, wells and health clinics. This focus was considered the path to development in the 1970s (McNeill, 2006, p. 277). Although human capital and access to

basic services became part of the development focus again in the 1990s, the focus was much more on state institution and accountability building – good governance - towards this end and on local ownership of the development processes, than on direct financing of smaller, concrete projects (McNeill, 2006, p. 278; NORAD, 2016b). Good governance and the 2011 Busan Framework still guide the official aid thinking, but the PAID organisations generally do not align with this.

2.4 Norwegian-specific context for helping overseas

The people interviewed for this thesis are driven by a motivation to help others, specifically towards aiding people overseas, and in this particular study in the Gambia. Malkki (2015, p. 3) states that “Many who grew up in societies like Finland, where international responsibilities are enacted from childhood via [...] imaginative practices [...], develop a strong sense of responsibility for, and solidarity with, “disadvantaged others in faraway places”. This seems to hold true for the Norwegian society, too. As discussed above, public support for development aid is high in Norway (OECD-DAC, 2013), and the majority of the population believes that Norway has a duty to support other countries (NORAD 2012b). The “regime of goodness” Tvedt (2007), the rather uncritical (according to Tvedt) support for the Norwegian development aid regime, is part and parcel of the public domain in Norway. Norway’s obligation to help overseas and the obligation of her citizens’ to assist and support this project are ingrained in the Norwegian psyche through, *inter alia*, education and media. As part of the national curriculum for primary schools in Norway, there is a particular emphasis on raising children to “... gain broadmindedness and knowledge that enable them to participate in joint efforts, in particular efforts that can help the world’s poor” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016, p. 15). In addition, the curriculum paper states that to ensure “... sustainable development, ethical upbringing [with a focus on] compassion and solidarity for the world’s poor must be an underlying principle” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016, p. 21) (my translation). The United Nations Association (UNA) in Norway (FN-Sambandet) works to increase the levels of awareness in educational system to the media and among the public in general among the Norwegian public about key international issues and the United Nations’ work, as well as encourage positive attitudes towards solidarity and commitment to international cooperation (United Nations Association of Norway, 2016). Every year, NORAD disperses ODA to Norwegian NGOs to raise public awareness in Norway about particular development issues. However, it is perhaps media in Norway that plays the biggest role in fostering positive attitudes towards helping “the poor”. The most notable yearly event towards this aim is the annual TV-happening, run on national state-owned television (NRK); the “TV-aksjonen”, where a chosen NGO is allowed an entire night on TV to promote its own organisation and raise funds. This

is beneficial to the organisation, but it also serves a purpose of fostering support among the Norwegian population for “the national development aid project”. Also private-owned TV channels, such as TV2, TV3 and TVNorge, run similar telethons (NRK, 2013).

The Norwegian education system and media support the notion that the state and the Norwegian citizens have an obligation to assist and help “the poor” in the South. However, the media is also responsible for instilling scepticism and mistrust, or even a resentment, in the general public against development aid in general, and towards NGOs in particular. Media reports where, for instance, aid funds have been misappropriated in the recipient countries or where organisations allegedly spend too much on administration and too little on “effective” aid, are common. (see for instance Bolle, 2016; DN.no, 2010; Haugen, 2015; Salvesen, 2016; Salvesen & Dahl, 2011; Skevik, 2011)

That Norwegians on the one hand have an ingrained feeling of a duty to assist poorer people overseas, but on the other hand are fed stories of corruption and embezzlement, and of excessive development aid amounts being spent on administration, might partially explain why the PAID organisations have become so successful and popular. Some of the main features of the PAID organisations, discussed below, directly counter (intentionally or not) some of the aspects of the NGOs that the public seems to have an aversion against.

2.5 Main traits and criticisms of personalised aid organisations

The PAID initiatives are a heterogeneous group in terms of how they organise their work and where they work. However, there are many traits that are common and thus connect them into one category. Some of the common features are explored below, as well as some of the common criticism against them. The below presentation is a generalised overview of PAID organisations, and not *all* PAID organisations follow this pattern for “setting up shop”, but the features highlighted are considered typical.

2.5.1 The typical PAID organisation

The world is in many ways getting smaller as people travel more and further, and it is easy to stay in touch with new and old friends via internet and social media. Kinsbergen and Schulpén (2013, p. 57) state that a start-up of a PAID organisation is often based on a coincidental encounter between the would-be initiator and a person or a situation in a country in the South. In many cases, when the tourist returns home, he or she has developed a will towards helping; a need to “do something”

(Pollet et al., 2014, p. 16). A project is then initiated back home with the aim of helping in the country visited. The projects are small in scale and personal, address a particular need identified, are driven by a desire to “make a difference” in their field, are based on voluntary work and do not receive funding from the ordinary state aid budget (Fechter, 2015).

During the travels, a connection is often made with a “local man”; the contact person “in the field”, who handles the aid project at the recipient end (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 58). Close contact can be developed and maintained across continents via social media. Most projects invest in concrete matters and have very tangible outputs, such as building schools, wells and clinics; investing in education and health is most common (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 56; Pollet et al., 2014, pp. 21, 36).

People are attracted to support this type of development aid due to the concrete, direct and tangible work that the aid is invested in (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2010, p. 12), and they are impressed by the visible results and the speed with which things are realised (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 54). Supporters are also enticed by the small scale of the organisation and the closeness that the PAID organisation has to the actual development project (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2010, p. 12). It is easy for donors to visualise the project, and the results of the direct intervention are tangible and observable.

Support and funding for the projects are gathered mainly through individual donations, but also to some extent through corporate sponsors, and the support is likely to be established through informal networks, amongst friends and relatives and their extended networks (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 24). One of the strengths of the PAID organisations seem to be their ability to raise funds locally, as well as the way in which the internet and social media is used to this end (Mathers, 2012; Pollet et al., 2014, p. 37). The project initiators can easily update their donors on developments at the project level, and thus maintaining the personal aspect of the aid initiative, as well as nurturing the donors’ feelings of being close to the project. The donor can easily see the direct impact of his/her donation, and the psychological and geographical gap between the organisations’ supporters in the North and the beneficiaries in the South is bridged (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011, p. 63).

Another attractive feature relating to the direct line of funding between the PAID organisation in the North and the projects in the South, is the avoidance of administration costs, so that “every penny reaches the recipient” (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b). There seems to be a perception in the general public that the lower the administration costs, the more efficient and effective the aid implementation is (Eggen, 2013; Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b).

As opposed to traditional, established NGOs, the PAID initiators do not rely on contemporary development discourse or policy focus, and they are not aid specialists. Hence, the PAID organisations do not have to relate to formal state-imposed demands for collaboration with local partners in the South, need not adhere to selection criteria to be eligible for funding, and need not develop aid programmes covering certain areas of development (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009, p. 916; Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b), such as ownership of development results; focus on results; partnerships; transparency and shared responsibility (NORAD, 2012a; OECD, 2011). The PAID organisations can follow their hearts and help where they deem that their efforts and inputs are most needed. This emotionally-driven operational freedom is at once the PAID organisations' strengths, but also at the core of the criticism that PAID organisations receive.

2.5.2 Criticisms of the PAID organisations

The most basic question concerning the PAID organisations, which is also an open-ended critique, is: "Are good intentions enough?" Tvedt (2007) calls the Norwegian international development project "a regime of goodness", where legitimacy, distribution of resources and the interpretation of the world are based on the rhetoric and criteria of "being good", and not on a balanced, facts-based debate and analysis on what aid can achieve and what it has achieved (Tvedt, 2007, pp. 62, 64). Although Tvedt's criticism is aimed at the official Norwegian aid regime, his analysis can easily be transferred to the PAID organisations: their foundation is often built on emotional, personal encounters with poverty (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013a), and not on assessments and analyses. The PAID initiators focus on being good and doing good, but are the development outcomes necessarily good – and for whom? To what extent do good intentions translate into good aid projects with good and sustainable outputs and outcomes? How – or to what extent – are the PAID projects and the results measured and evaluated? There has not yet been a systematic mapping or assessment of the Norwegian PAID initiatives, and more research is still needed to ascertain exactly how, or even if, the PAID organisations are considering the questions raised about their operations.

Another critique is that the PAID initiators are not development professionals and thus lack knowledge about what development aid is and should be (Haaland & Wallevik, 2015). While development co-operation specialists have concluded, after years of experimenting, reflecting, and countless of project trials and errors, that in development co-operation some approaches work and others do not, the PAID organisations lack this knowledge and experience and often walk straight into known pitfalls, and earlier mistakes are repeated (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009, p. 918; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 56; Pollet et al., 2014, p. 37)

Research from the Netherlands shows that PAID projects are often implemented without a political economy analysis; there is limited knowledge about and collaboration with other organisations or local authorities in the same region; participation of the beneficiaries is limited or absent, indicating that projects that are poorly embedded in the local context (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 57). There is little reason to think that the situation is different in Norway. This finding leads to many questions of ownership, dependency and development coordination. Who “owns” the PAID projects and who decides what the funds are spent on? Is it the donor in the North? Or is it the local representative that the donor often links up with? If so, to what extent is the local contact person a representative of the community he is meant to be representing? Does the structure of the PAID projects induce dependency on behalf the beneficiary? Does the personalised nature of the project mean that the entire project is dependent on *one* person in the North? Will the project be sustained even if the *primus motor* is unable to carry on with the work? To what extent are the PAID organisations interested in broader development issues? Are they seeking information about other projects similar to their own or do they operate in a vacuum? And are the beneficiaries consulted in the development process? (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013a, 2013b; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2010).

A seemingly attractive feature about the PAID organisations relates to the low or non-existent administration cost, as this appears to imply more efficiency and effectiveness of the aid project. However, this notion is also a subject of criticism. How does surpassing administration costs automatically ensure more efficiency and more effective aid results, when the efficiency and effectiveness do not need to be measured, evaluated and reported on? As long as the PAID organisations do not receive financial support from official sources, there are no formal requirements for project evaluations and reporting (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b). One could argue that a certain level of administration encourages some form of quality assurance (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b).

Based on their research on Dutch initiatives, Kinsbergen and Schulpen (2013, p. 57) argue that at a general output level most PAID projects are reasonable successful. The focus of the project reports, where they exist, is mainly on describing the tangible outputs (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 58). Reporting on successful outputs might be relatively easy, as the tangible goals that were defined by the PAID organisation themselves, were reached. But what about the development outcomes; the long-term implications, benefits or effects on a community or society of the development interventions? Pollet (2014, p. 37) argues that many PAID organisations struggle with sustainability issues, because they underestimate that development is more about behavioural change and empowerment than about infrastructure and equipment.

This leads to another criticism of the PAID initiatives. The organisation, by focussing on tangible projects, such as building schools and health clinics, are merely putting a band-aid on the symptoms, and not recognising the underlying causes of poverty and inequality (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, pp. 57-58; Mathers, 2012, p. 23). By actively aiding projects that possibly should form part of the state's responsibility, it could be argued that these projects indirectly causes or allow the states to be less accountable towards their citizens (Eggen, 2013).

It seems that the very nature and driving forces of the PAID organisations: the direct, tangible project approach, the quick results, the "not talking, but doing" mentality, the low levels of administration, the personal connection to the project and so on, could ultimately also be the Achilles heel of the organisations (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, pp. 58-59). However, people are drawn to this type of development support because the PAID organisations make a visible, direct difference in people's lives (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 56)

2.6 Research on personalised aid in Europe

In general, very little research exists on small PAID organisations in Europe, and there is still no formal, international consensus on how to define the PAID initiatives (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2010, p. 6), not on what to call the phenomenon, which makes research into this heterogeneous group of organisation all the more complex. However, extensive studies have been on-going in both Belgium and the Netherlands since 2005 (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 8), under the names of The Fourth Pillar, Citizen Initiatives (CI) and Private Development Initiatives (PDI). An initial mapping exercise jointly issued by the KU Leuven University in Belgium and the Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands provides a first international investigation into, and comparison of, the phenomenon of personalised aid in Europe. The report looks at themes such as: what are the different terms used to describe PAID in various countries; to what extent are the PAID initiatives recognised by governments and other NGOs; what types of support do the PAID organisations receive; how are they organised; and to what extent is the phenomenon studied in different countries in Europe (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 8). The findings from this report show that PAID initiatives are common and widespread throughout Europe, but that there is not a uniform approach to studying or indeed acknowledging the PAID organisations. The initiatives operate under different labels, have different qualities, and are often unknown as a concept or not recognised as a phenomenon in its own right (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 36). In some studies, the larger NGO and the small PAID are lumped into one category, whilst in other studies the PAID organisations are considered insignificant (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 33), both in terms of size and impact.

Pollet et al. (2014, p. 21) estimates that there are between 100,000 to 200,000 PAID organisations in Western Europe, in various forms. This indicates that the scale of development aid in the philanthropic channel is quite substantial. However, the rather unprecise estimation is due to the lack of research in this field. As Pollet et al. (2014, p. 36) and Fechter (2015) confirm, this part of the aid scene is not on the radar of researchers and is hardly on the agenda of policy makers, mainly due to the overriding focus on the larger, established organisations that file under the civilateral aid channel. Fechter (2015) argues, though, that the PAID organisations *are* relevant to development discussions partly due to the more innovative ways in which “possibly significant” funds are raised. In addition, the sheer number of organisations are likely to exist involve thousands and thousands of people on the donor side, as volunteers and as donors to the PAID organisations. By overlooking research into the motivations of these donors - who they are, what they do, and why they do it; by not investigating the scale of the phenomenon - how many PAID organisations exists, how much funding is raised, what the possible impact of PAID in the home country and in the recipient countries is, academia and policy makers are not seeing the whole aid picture. In fact, exactly what is missing in the picture is not even known (Fechter, 2015).

2.7 Research on personalised aid in Norway

Very little is known about the PAID scene in Norway, about the overall size of the phenomenon, the actors, the development projects and the outputs and outcomes. Small development aid project are not the focus of government policies, as smaller aid allocations made from the national aid budget are disbursed through the Norwegian embassies in the South and are given directly to local projects, making the intermediary organisations based in the North obsolete (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 23). The Norwegian government and NORAD are shifting the emphasis of development cooperation policy and public support towards aid effectiveness at the expense of support to the smaller organisations (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 22). For civil society organisations in Norway to receive funding from the official aid budget, there are several criteria that the organisations need to meet, and the overarching criterion is that the project must support democracy building and human rights by strengthening civil societies in the South. It is also a demand from NORAD that the development project must go beyond pure transfers of funds and that it has partnership and cooperation as a core “value added” (NORAD, 2016b). Most of the PAID organisations are not eligible for funding from NORAD as the focus of their projects and *modus operandi* do not fit in with the overall objectives and requirements. On the other side, it is also too laborious for NORAD to deal with the small organisations; the transaction costs are just too demanding (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 27).

To NORAD, the PAID organisations are mainly considered solidarity movements or small NGOs raising their own funds and running their own projects (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 74). Larger, established NGOs generally view the new PAID initiative with disdain and scepticism. The PAID projects are seen as running unsustainable projects that are not embedded in the local communities, and the PAID organisations are not viewed as being professional (Bistandaktuelt, 2015; Haaland & Wallevik, 2015). The influence that the PAID organisations have through their development interventions in the South and the influence the organisations have on the Norwegian publics' perceptions of development aid are divorced from the national aid debate, if it is at all on the radar. It might be that this negative view or the absence of acknowledgement of the PAID scene by the mainstream development community has discouraged research into the philanthropic aid channel.

In Norway, there are no clear regulations on either registration or fundraising for the PAID initiatives (Innsamlingskontrollen, 2016). A law from 2007 on registration of organisations that fundraise among the general public, states that it is *voluntary* for organisations to register with the Norwegian Control Committee for Fundraising (Innsamlingskontrollen) (Lovdata, 2007). The law from 2007 and the Norwegian Control Committee for Fundraising seem to be preoccupied with uncovering serious financial fraud committed by small organisations, which is a valid goal. However, beyond mere financial control, there are also other interesting aspects and concerns about the PAID organisations that should warrant attention, not just from the Norwegian Control Committee for Fundraising, but from the development community as a whole.

Five out of the six organisations interviewed for this study were registered as “associations” in the Brønnøysund Register Centre, which is a Norwegian government-controlled registry of, inter alia, companies and associations. The sixth organisation is not a registered association. The interviewed organisations which were registered with the Brønnøysund Register Centre reported that it became easier to raise funds once they were registered; that they were seen as a serious organisation. However, in order to fundraise, the PAID organisations do not have a legal obligation to register, and the founder of the one organisation that was not registered reported that too much administration would be involved and therefore he had chosen not to. None of the organisations were registered with Innsamlingskontrollen, nor with The Association of NGOs in Norway (Frivillighet Norge), or with The Gaming and Foundation Authority (Stiftelsestilsynet). Registration with all these control bodies is voluntary, with the exemption for “foundations” (translated here to “stiftelse”, and not “forening”), for which registration with The Gaming and Foundation Authority (Stiftelsestilsynet) is compulsory. Registering beyond the Brønnøysund Register Centre, involves a small fee, which might seem costly to a small PAID organisation. Registration also entails that the organisations' financial

reports must be approved by an accountant, and this involves organisational administration, both in terms of funds and work, which most of the PAID organisations take pride in not having.

One interesting development, which might be a one-off-its-kind in Norway, is the creation of a peer network by eight PAID organisation in the north in Norway. Rather than waiting to be recognised by the larger development community, the eight organisations have gone ahead and formed their own network. The aim is to learn from each other, to share work on results and evaluations and to get more formal inputs into their work from NORAD and The Norwegian Development Network (Bistandstorget, a resource and competence network) . The long-term plans of the network is to develop an online resource portal for PAID organisations (Ellingsen, 2015)

In Norway, more research needed about who the PAID actors are, and where and how they operate, before the phenomenon can be properly placed and acknowledge as part of the Norwegian aid landscape. However, would the organisations themselves welcome such an acknowledgement and inclusion, or are they content with operating by themselves, doing everything their own way – and if a need to join forces arises, then also a network can be forged by themselves? Currently, one of the *raison d'être* for the PAID organisations is the very fact that they are not part of, or seen as part of, the established development architecture.

2.8 The personalised aid organisations in this study

This study includes six personalised aid organisations that are based in Norway and do development work in the Gambia; a very small, autocratic country in West-Africa. All the organisations involved in this study do development work directed at helping children in the Gambia, mostly by providing access to education in one form or another. As I will return to in my chapter on methodology, the fact that all the organisations involved in this study operate in the Gambia was the result of my initial outreach to one organisation, which was based on happenstance; that a friend of a friend had started a PAID initiative which had its operation in the Gambia. A search on the internet using keywords that matched the profile of that first organisation, such as “barnehage gambia norsk organisasjon” (“kindergarden gambia norwegian organisation), “hjelper barn i gambia” (“helping kids in gambia”) and “skole i gambia norsk fadder” (“school in gambia norwegian sponsor”), produced very many relevant hits, which led me in the direction of the five other organisations operating in the Gambia. Kinsbergen and Schulpen (2010, p. 17), state that the increase in Dutch tourism to the Gambia is clearly reflected in the number of Dutch PAID organisations operating in the tiny West African country. This might very well also be the case in Norway, and might indicate why so many

organisations showed up on the basic Google searches. That there were many organisations to choose from, which worked in the Gambia and on the similar theme of helping children, guided the decision to focus this study on exactly those. After a review of several organisations' webpages, seven organisations were contacted and six of them were willing to participate. In the chapter on Methodology I will describe the selection process in detail, and in the chapter on Cases and findings, the organisations will be presented more fully.

2.9 Why a PAID organisation?

The above sections have explored some of the main common features of the PAID organisations and looked at how the initiatives do or do not fit in in the larger development picture. This chapter has also provided a brief overview of research that exists on PAID in Europe and in Norway. As so little research exists on the PAID phenomenon in Norway, starting with the beginning seems appropriate for this thesis; namely the start-up of an organisation. Why do people do it? What are their motivation and drive? And once a project has started, what makes people continue with this work? Some of the underlying motivations seem to be a desire to make a difference, to do good, coupled with desire for adventures and for new cultural experiences, to rediscover of themselves (Fechter, 2015; Haaland & Wallevik, 2015; Mathers, 2012). Haaland and Wallevik (2015) points out that in an increasing individual world, there seems to be a need to work towards something that is larger than oneself. In Norway, there is little room for a non-professional, want-to-do-good person to work, even on a non-remunerated, voluntary basis, in an established aid organisation (Haaland & Wallevik, 2015), and for some, starting their own development organisation might be a way to ensure access to development work.

The next chapter will examine some theories of motivation, and these will be revisited and used in chapter 6 Analysis and discussion.

3. Theoretical Framework

Motivation is the psychological force that enables action (Touré-Tillery & Fishbach, 2014, p. 328). But what are the external and internal drivers of that psychological force, and how does it relate to helping and giving? Why do people invest so much time, money and efforts into helping others? There are many cognitive, affective, and behavioural processes affecting a person's actions, and understanding exactly what these processes are is very difficult. Toure-Tillery and Fishbach (2014, pp. 328-329) state that motivation is a psychological construct that cannot be observed or recorded directly, and motivation is also limited by people's conscious understanding of their own psychological states, and can further be biased by social desirability concerns. The motivational reasons that have been reported in the interviews and interpreted in this study are indeed that: a report and an interpretation, and it is unlikely that all the existing drivers of motivation for the respondents have been captured in the interviews. Nevertheless, theories about human motivation exist, and some of these will be discussed in this chapter. Liisa H. Malkki's book "The need to help" (Malkki) will be drawn upon towards establishing a framework for analysis. Malkki looks at motivation and questions who "the needy" really are. A deliberation will be offered on Abraham Maslow's motivation theory with the use of his hierarchy of needs, as well as some on the critiques of his theory. A revised model for motivation will be suggested. The chapter will also consider Marcel Mauss' work on gift exchanges, and look at how development aid fits into the gift exchange theory.

3.2 Motivation for helping others – pure altruism or "warm glow" effect?

Altruism can be defined as an unselfish regard for or devotion to the welfare of others (Merriam-Webster), and requires a person to sacrifice for another without consideration of personal gains (Lichtenberg, 2010). Doing good for another person with an ulterior motive, thus, becomes the opposite of altruism (Lichtenberg, 2010). However, Lichtenberg (2010) refers to Kant and Freud, who stated that a person's true motives may be hidden, even from themselves. Lichtenberg (2010) claims that people do what they think is good, because it is part of who they are. They do good, give time and money to others, because it is the right thing to do. But at the same time the actions of giving and helping also affirm who they are as people, as well as support their understanding of what world should be like (Lichtenberg, 2010). Acts of giving, thus, help people form their identities, support their self-fulfilment and personal growth. Further to this, Malkki (2015, pp. 42-43) talks about "self-

transformation”; people learn new things about themselves when they engage in aid projects abroad; they let go and feel more alive.

Identity, Lichtenberg argues, is closely connected people’s values and beliefs, their norms and morals, their understanding of doing good because it is right – and thus altruistic behaviour is carefully linked to the self-interested act (Lichtenberg, 2010). Malkki supports this notion when she states that “the gift of the self to an imagined other, [is] also a gift to the self” (2015, p. 10). The need to help, Malkki goes on to argue, in many cases reflects the needs of the benefactor, as much as it does the needs of the recipient (2015, p. 8), but one need does not necessarily diminish the other. The alleviation of their *own* neediness allows the donor to be part of something that is greater than themselves (Malkki, 2015, p. 9).

Some good acts are performed with a conscious acknowledgement that pure altruism is not the sole reason for the behaviour. People feel good when they help and give (Lichtenberg, 2010) and they feel that their contribution makes a difference in other people’s lives (Kinsbergen et al., 2011, p. 62). This psychological reward has been labelled the “warm glow” (Andreoni, 2006; Kinsbergen et al., 2011, p. 62). For instance, the gratitude and recognition that people receive from others when doing good, the enjoyment of making someone else happy, the feeling of being relieved from guilt by being a giver, all contribute to people’s feeling of a “warm glow” (Andreoni, 2006, p. 1220). In addition, Anik et al (2009, pp. 4, 9) hold that there is a causal relationship between giving and happiness, and that altruistic behaviour may promote happiness. If giving feels good, it can be seen as self-interested giving (Anik et al., 2009, p. 2). Is this to say that all helping and giving behaviour is ultimately based on self-interest, a desire for personal fulfilment, or a warm glow feeling and happiness? This brings in Malkki’s question again: who is the needy? According to her the needy are *both* the donor and the recipient of aid (Malkki, 2015, p. 8). Motivation for giving and helping is both disinterested and interested to the person helping, that the aid offered is both for the need of others and for the need of the self, and one motivational factor does not necessarily exclude the other.

3.3 Maslow on motivation, self-actualisation and transcendence

Lichtenberg and Malkki’s assertions that giving can be part of an identity-formation and a self-transformation (Lichtenberg, 2010; Malkki, 2015, pp. 42-43) can be connected to the influential American psychologist Abraham Maslow’s work on motivation and his hierarchy of needs. The below model is Maslow’s best-known model for describing human motivation:

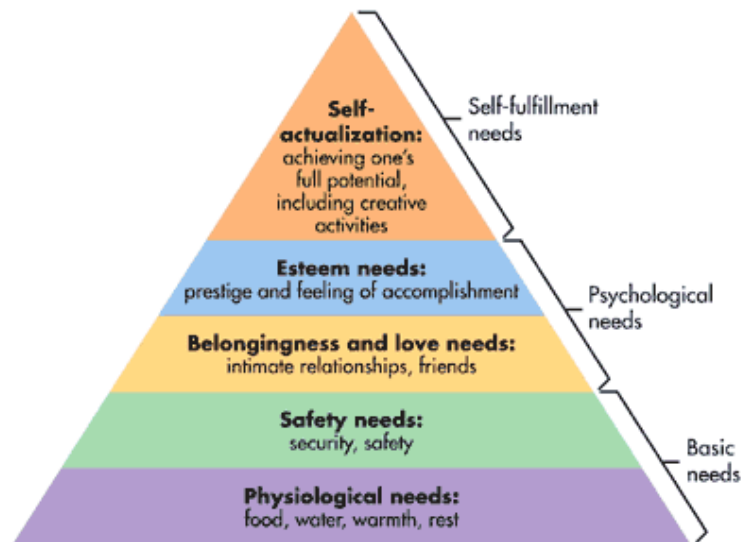


Figure 1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the early version. Illustration from Teach-nology.com

According to Maslow's early theory, all people are motivated by certain needs and a life-long, on-going process to seek fulfilment and personal growth (McLeod, 2014), or form an identity, or to self-transform (Lichtenberg, 2010; Malkki, 2015). The needs and aspirations, according to Maslow, are hierarchical so that basic needs must be met before a person can reach for psychological needs, and only when those are met, the person can strive for self-fulfilment needs (McLeod, 2014).

In 1970, Maslow amended his hierarchy of needs to include three more levels; cognitive needs (search for knowledge, meaning, self-awareness); aesthetic needs (search for and appreciation of beauty, balance, form) and transcendence (helping others to self-actualise) (McLeod, 2014), as illustrated in the model below:

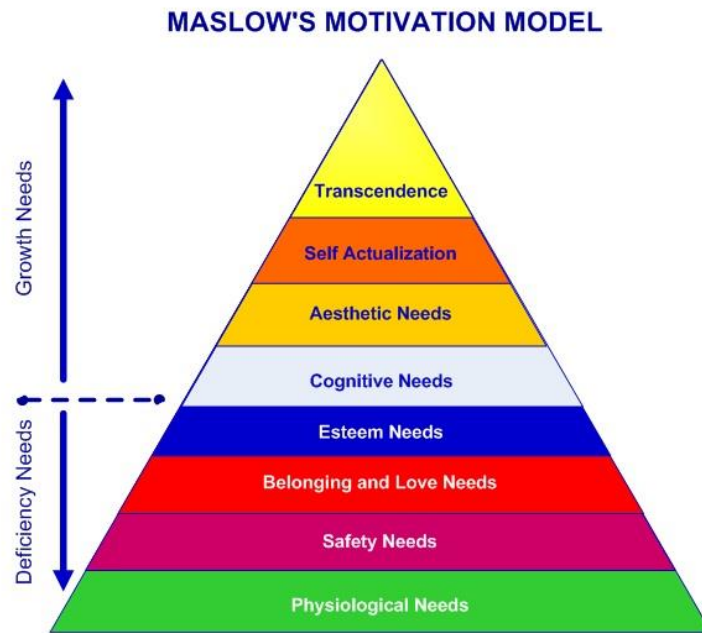


Figure 2: Amended illustration of hierarchy of needs. Illustration from The Peak Performance Centre

This study is concerned with the top two levels of Maslow's pyramid are the one's considered; self-actualisation and transcendence. At the self-actualisation level, a person finds meaning to life that is important to himself (Maslow, 1965, p. 110). This will of course vary from person to person (McLeod, 2014). The person strives to be the best he/she can be, according to the individual's potential and capabilities (Koltko-Rivera, 2006, p. 306; McLeod, 2014). The self-actualisation level is about "...finding out who you are, what you are what you like, what you don't like, what is good for you and what is bad, where you are going and what you mission is" (Maslow, 1965, p. 114). The self-actualisation level of Maslow's hierarchy centres on the self and the needs of the individual. However, some people are motivated beyond the self-actualisation level. At the level of transcendence, the self is put aside and the person works towards something greater than the self, often serving others (Koltko-Rivera, 2006, p. 306). Transcendence can thus be likened to altruism, and self-actualisation to the "warm glow", happiness and self-interested helping. This also corresponds well with the section above, where it was stated that people are looking towards something that is bigger than themselves.

There are some problems with Maslow's theory of motivations. One is that it is very difficult to empirically prove or test self-actualisation (McLeod, 2014), as self-actualisation is individual and differs from person to person, and a person's ultimate potential might never be known. Another problem is the insistence on a hierarchical path towards self-actualisation and transcendence.

Maslow believed that one could not climb the steps of the pyramid until the level below was satisfied. However, as Koltko-Rivera (2006, p. 309) observes: "...higher" motivations, such as self-actualization and self-transcendence, can appear as the *dominant* motivations in individuals who seem not to have firmly resolved the needs for survival, safety and so forth". Even though Maslow's theory of motivation does not adhere to a linear hierarchy in real life, his model for thinking about motivation is still relevant.

As was noted above, Lichtenberg (2010), argues that altruistic behaviour – transcendence - is linked to self-actualisation because acts of giving and helping assist people in forming their identities, support their self-fulfilment and personal growth. For the purpose of this thesis, a horizontal figure of self-actualisation and transcendence as motivation has been developed. This model illustrates that there is an interaction between these two motivational incentives; between the self and the other; between self-actualisation and transcendence; between interested and disinterested giving, and it highlights that one type of behaviour reinforces the other. By working horizontally, the figure also refutes the idea that one level of a hierarchy must be satisfied before the next stage can be reached.

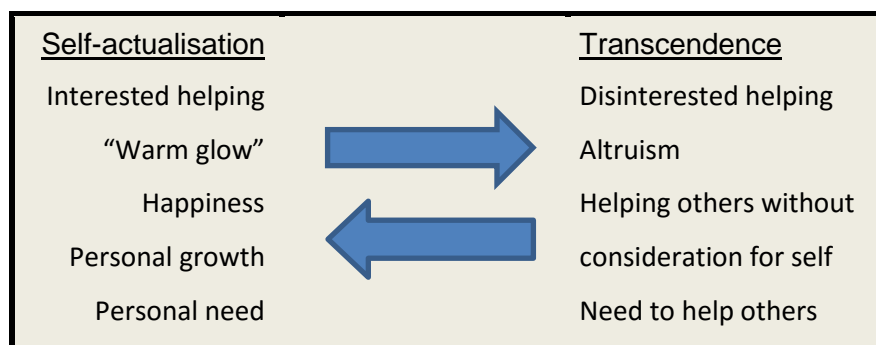


Figure 3: Interaction between self-actualisation and transcendence

3.4 The gift - altruism or "warm glow"?

The people interviewed for this thesis are all driven by a motivation to help others overseas, and their personal motivations will be discussed more in detail in chapter 6. The help and aid that they offer can be interpreted as gifts. The common understanding of a gift is that something is given away "for free", that there are no anticipations of a return gift. Whereas commerce is based on remuneration, gifts are perceived to be pure of ulterior motives (Douglas, 1990). Indeed, Testart

(1998, p. 283) claims that to give is the exact opposite of an exchange. Kowalski (2011, p. 190) also discusses what a gift is and refers to Jaques Derrida, who has said that for a gift to be defined as a gift, it has to be freely given with no contaminations of a personal gain. According to this interpretation, the gift possesses the same qualities as altruism – that the gift and the help in themselves are disinterested to the donor and there are no ulterior motives behind helping and giving. However, as it was argued above, helping can be both transcendent of the self *and* self-interested. The French sociologist, Marcel Mauss offers a view that supports this notion. He claimed that although the gift is not part of a system of exchange against equivalent values, giving is also not an act in which the giver is disinterested (Kowalski, 2011, p. 190).

In 1950, Marcel Mauss, wrote the influential book “The Gift. Form and reason for exchange in archaic societies”. The theories presented here are still relevant and debated today. Although his study mainly considered what he called “archaic” or “primitive” societies, his research has proven to be appropriate across cultures, space and time. In short, Mauss’ core findings and main contribution to the academic theory on gift giving is his assertion that a gift cycle exists; the obligation to give, receive and repay a gift. Mauss claimed that a gift might look like a “no-strings-attached”, free present, but that in reality, by receiving the gift, the recipient has an obligation to reciprocate (Mauss, 1990, p. 3), and the gift is thus not free. He even argued that discussing the notion of a “free gift” was a “social deceit” (Mauss, 1990, p. 4). The cyclical system of the gift exchange entraps a person in permanent commitments that articulate the dominant institutions (Douglas, 1990); the one who is “owed” a return gift has the “upper hand”, so to speak.

3.5 Development aid as a gift

How can aid be seen as a gift, if there, according to Mauss’ theory, is an obligation to reciprocate the gift? Development aid does not open for repayment. For development aid that is given through bilateral and multi-lateral channels, the expectations of reciprocation are often explicitly expressed through conditionalities that are tied to the aid (Eyben, 2006, p. 88), and Kowalski (2011, p. 203) even suggests that this type of development assistance should perhaps be relabelled as “development investment”, because it mimics market exchanges more than it does a gift. A market exchange is seen as institutional and impersonal, whilst a gift is seen as voluntary and personal (Eyben, León, Hossain, Cornwall, & Dabire, 2003, p. 3). As for aid given through the philanthropic channel, such as through PAID organisations, the personal aspect is a highly important feature of the gift and there are no expectations of a return gift. This type of aid is more like charity; “a free gift, a voluntary, unrequited surrender of resources” (Douglas, 1990). A free gift, thus, is in theory a

disinterested gift, as it is the gift itself that is meant to be presented, not the intentions or the motives of the donor (Eyben et al., 2003, pp. 3-4). However, this is not the case with a development gift, and in particular not one that is made through a PAID initiative, as the gift is most often given towards a very particular purpose by a personal choice of the PAID donor. This type of a gift is very much an interested gift.

The development gift is thus rather ambiguous (Eyben et al., 2003, p. 3). It is seen as and intended to be a free gift, given as charity, with no expectations of reciprocation. However, the character of the development gift is shaped by the power, norms and morality of the donor, even though the donor might not recognise this (Eyben et al., 2003, p. 4). So, even if there are no direct, explicit expectations of a repayment of the gift from the donor side, the relationship between the donor and the recipient become transformed by the giving and acceptance of the development gift.

According to Kowalski (2011, p. 191), the self-interested part of the development gift is not what is given in return, but rather the relationship the gift has opened up. Malkki (2015, p. 130) says that for the donor the imagined strong connectedness to the “world out there” and to someone in need serves as a satisfying reciprocity of the gift. Douglas (1990) states that a gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity is a contradiction. But does development aid enhance solidarity? Stirrat and Henkel (1997, p. 80) maintains that the giver may feel a certain sense of identity with the receiver, such as the imagined connectedness Malkki refers to, but it is doubtful whether the feeling is reciprocated. They continue by pointing out that while aid attempts to deny a difference and asserts an identity between the rich giver and the poor receiver, the gift in practice reinforces, or even reinvents, these differences (Stirrat & Henkel, 1997, p. 69). Even Mauss would agree to this, as he wrote that the unreciprocated gift makes the person who has accepted it inferior (Mauss, 1990, p. 83). The denial of an opportunity to return the gift makes the recipient a dependant, a recipient of charity (Stirrat & Henkel, 1997, p. 75). Indeed, the receiver might find himself in a position of accepting a gift that he cannot refuse (Eyben et al., 2003, p. 4), or the gift might have been “imposed” on the beneficiary in top-down fashion, where the ultimate receiver had not been given a voice as to whether refuse or accept the donation. The development gift, thus, potentially denies the receiver the opportunity for being an active agent in his/her own life and also refutes his voice in the development discourse. This scenario does not enhance solidarity nor does it erase the differences or inequalities between the donor and the recipient. When a person in the North decides to set up a personalised aid initiative, are these implications of aid assistance considered? Does the person consciously consider the effects of the development gift? For the PAID initiatives in this study the dynamics of the gift exchange, of the development intervention that the organisations engage in, are not consciously considered. Generally, for the charitable organisations giving in itself is the focus,

not the effects. Nevertheless, some of the organisations find themselves grappling with the effects that the gift has produced. These issues will be discussed further in chapter 6.

4. Methodology

This chapter will look at the methodological, strategic and practical choices that have guided this study's data collection and analytical approaches. As the study is qualitative in its approach, this chapter will first distinguish between quantitative and qualitative approaches, before describing in more detail the why a qualitative approach is most suited to this particular study. Then follows the details of the research design applied in this study; a collective, multiple case study, before the chapter introduces the data collection information. The chapter will then look at the data analysis approach that has been applied in this study. Trustworthiness, authenticity and reflexivity in the study will also be discussed. Lastly, the chapter will look at some of the ethical questions, as well as research limitations, that this study had to consider.

4.1 A qualitative approach

Depending on the research topic and the angle of investigation, the researcher will choose his or her research method and strategy carefully. There are two overarching, main approaches to research; a quantitative approach and a qualitative approach. The two approaches are often seen as opposites, but studies can in many cases benefit from a combination of the two approaches. This study is qualitative in its approach.

The main objective of a quantitative approach, as implied in the name, is to quantify what is being studied. The approach is mainly concerned with data that conventionally can be numerically and statistically measured. Quantitative studies are mostly favoured by the natural sciences. The ontological stance of a quantitative approach is that reality exists as an external, objective reality, independent from the social actors (Bryman, 2004, pp. 16, 19), also called objectivism. The assumption is that "reality" is a single, value-free constant which exists "out there". Some would argue that the methods used in natural sciences can also be applied to social sciences. This epistemological position is referred to as positivism (Bryman, 2004, p. 11). For humans to make more sense of the world, studies can be developed to prove whether a hypothesis or a theory about a phenomenon is right or wrong. A quantitative study will typically start with a theory or hypothesis, which then will be tested in a carefully managed and controlled environment. The quantitative approach is thus said to be deductive (Bryman, 2004, p. 20); the theoretical hypothesis is already developed and it needs to be tested in order to be confirmed or rejected. The quantitative study aims at being generalizable to the whole population (Bryman, 2004, p. 29). The findings in a study

are often scrutinised by other researchers and tested for reliability, replicability and validity: has the study indeed produced results about what it set out to test and can others run the study again, do new studies yield similar test results, and can the results be generalised to the larger population? (Bryman, 2004, p. 28)

Qualitative studies, on the other hand, are concerned with specific qualities about the subject or phenomenon under scrutiny. The studies are not mainly concerned with measuring what can and cannot be counted and quantified, but are more interested in exploring “what”, “why” and “how”, which often are expressed in words and images, and not numbers (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013, p. 3). A qualitative researcher’s rationale is underpinned by the notion that what cannot be counted also counts towards a broader understanding of the world. The ontological stance of most qualitative studies holds that there is not a single, external, objective, constant, value-free reality, but rather that the world – or reality - and its meanings are constructed by social actors and their interactions (Bryman, 2004, p. 17). This ontological orientation is referred to as constructionism. The understanding of the world is dependent on time and space (Bryman, 2004, p. 18), which indicates that everyone’s unique reality is interpreted and understood by seeing the world through lenses that are coloured by one’s culture, social settings and identities, previous experiences, and so forth. This epistemological orientation is thus said to be interpretivist. Unlike most quantitative studies, where a pre-defined theory about reality is tested, qualitative studies will investigate a particular issue by applying a chosen method or methods and, after analysis, determine if a theory can be generated, thus, taking an inductive approach towards a more generalised understanding of the world.

This study is concerned about the thoughts, feelings, perceptions and motivations of a selection of people who have initiated and work for a personalised aid organisation in Norway, with the goal of helping people in the Gambia. These feelings and perceptions cannot be quantified, measured and counted, and thus a quantitative approach is deemed unsuitable for this study. A qualitative approach is considered suitable, as the study aims to explore and gain a greater understanding of the study objects’ personal ontological and epistemological beliefs; that is, how they view the world and how they navigate their specific aid work within this understanding of world.

This study is founded on my ontological belief that the social world is constructed by social actors and the interaction between them (Bryman, 2004, p. 17). The epistemological approach guiding this study is interpretivist, which according to Bryman (2004, p. 13), “requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action”, which is very appropriate for the aim of this study.

4.2 Research design: The case study

The aim of this study is to explore the motivation and idealism of individuals who have set up and are running personalised aid organisations in Norway. Cousin (2005, p. 421) states that a case study aims to explore and depict a setting with a view to advance understanding, which describes the aim of this study very well. The case study is concerned with the particular nature and complexity of a phenomena and tends to be an intensive investigation of a setting, and the researcher is interested in highlighting the unique and specific features of a case (Bryman, 2004, pp. 48-50).

One of the challenges with a case study is to determine what “the case” is; what the “unit of analysis” is (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 545). Bryman places a strong focus on the singularity of a case – a single family, a single event, a single school, a single community or a single organisation (Bryman, 2004, pp. 48-49), but for this thesis “the case” is not confined to *one* organisation, but to several organisations. Baxter and Jack (2008, pp. 547-549) list several types of case studies based on categories defined by Yin (2003), such as explanatory, exploratory, descriptive and multiple case studies, and defined by Stake (1995), such as intrinsic, instrumental and collective case studies.

A collective, multiple case study strategy is applied to this thesis. A collective case study is similar in nature and description to the multiple case study, and both allow for comparisons between the cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008, pp. 548-549). The unit of analysis for this study is thus the phenomenon under study – the motivation and idealism of the PAID initiators, but within the defined perimeters of the organisations being studies.

4.3 Data collection methods

4.3.1 Selection of informants

The personalised aid initiatives that took part in this study were chosen both by incident and by a more focussed internet research. The first organisation to catch my interest was brought forth by a friend who had a friend who had started a small aid organisation. That this organisation’s initiator became an informant to this study was by chance, and can be defined as “convenience sampling” (Bryman, 2004, p. 100) – that the organisation just happened to show up on the horizon, was suitable to the project, and thus was contacted and became an informant to the study. I “liked” the organisation’s Facebook page, and also visited its webpage to gain an insight onto what the organisation did and how its work was carried out. The organisation supported a nursery school in

the Gambia. A decision was made to look for similar organisations in Norway, which could feed into this study. A Google search on the internet using keywords such as “barnehage gambia norsk organisasjon” (“kindergarden gambia norwegian organisation”), “hjelper barn i gambia” (“helping kids in gambia”) and “skole i gambia norsk fadder” (“school in gambia norwegian sponsor”) produced several successful hits, with links directly to organisations or to online newspaper articles, from which the organisations could be found. Had the above online search not yielded good results with these keywords, the search would have been expanded to include more general keywords, such as “hjelp barn i Afrika” (“helping kids in Africa”), “startet sin egen hjelpeorganisasjon” (“startet his/her own aid organisation”), and so on.

After studying many organisations’ webpages and/or Facebook pages, contact was initiated via email with seven organisations. They were comparable in nature and were working on similar projects, all in the Gambia. This approach to identifying further interview respondents can be defined as cross between “snowball sampling” and “purposive sampling”. The snowball sample is defined by the researcher identifying one sample and using this as a springboard to gain access to other informants (Bryman, 2004, p. 544). Although, in this case, the first organisation did not directly connect me with other organisations, the online information elicited about this organisation, informed the search for other PAID organisations. In that sense, it could also be argued that that larger sample of organisations was derived by a “purposive sampling” technique. The choice of this technique was made strategically as there was a “good corresponded between research questions and sampling” (Bryman, 2004, pp. 333-334). Palys (2008, p. 697) states that there are several different samples that can be targeted using a purposive sampling technique and it all depends on what the researcher wants to know and accomplish. For this thesis, the “typical case sampling”, a type purposive sampling, was suitable, as the cases were chosen because they did not seem unusual in any way, but rather, they shared similarities with many other Norwegian PAID organisations.

A uniform email was sent to the organisations with a short introduction of the study and a more personal introduction of myself (see appendix I). The organisations were invited to participate in a conversation to discuss the motivations for starting a PAID organisation. The word “conversation” was deliberately used, as opposed to “interview”, as a conversation implies a more personal exchange than an interview. I wanted the conversations to be personal, as motivation, which was the main topic of the interviews, is personal and subjective. The organisations in this case study are founded on the “personalised”, and the researcher intended to keep this notion also in the conversation/interview setting. Six organisations, out of the seven contacted, replied and were positive to the request for a conversation/interview.

4.3.2 The interviews

Qualitative research seeks to study meanings in subjective experiences (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010, p. 313). According to Bryman (2004, p. 319), interviews are the most widely used method in qualitative research. The study is concerned with the subjective experiences of motivation in relation to PAID work. The main research data have been gathered through interviews, as the interviews served as a platform for the respondents to express their experiences and thoughts. The organisations' websites and Facebook pages have also been used as secondary data sources.

Several diverse forms of interviews exist, such as structured, semi-structured and unstructured or open interviews, and one can interview one person only or a focus group (Bryman, 2004, p. 319). This study has applied a few different interview techniques, mainly due to practical reasons, such as time and space.

In preparation for the interviews, an interview guide was developed (see appendix II). The interviews intended to be very open, flexible and free-flowing, allowing for the interviewees to talk as much as possible without interference from me. One of the main advantages of this approach is its flexibility and open framework and that it opens up for follow-up questions, if necessary (Bryman, 2004, p. 321). However, some guidance, in the form of the interview guide, was deemed necessary, to ensure that the topic under study would be covered. The interview questions were structured around the thesis' research questions, which are guiding this study. The last part of the interview guide was placed under a "maybe"-heading. These questions fell slightly outside the scope of this study, and some of the questions were of a somewhat sensitive nature, but they were nevertheless interesting in view of gaining an overall understanding of the approach that the respondents had to their projects.

The interviews were a cross between a semi-structured and an unstructured interview, except one interview that was structured and was conducted via email. Bryman (2004, pp. 320-321) describes the unstructured interview more similar to a conversation, and the interviews were indeed presented as conversations to the respondents and had a very informal tone that one can expect from a conversation. At the same time, the interviews were, in a non-sequential manner, steered by the interview guide's predefined questions. The opening question "Tell me about your organisation" was always asked at the start of the interviews. This question had the longest, uninterrupted answer from all of the respondents. The respondents often touched upon other questions that were noted in the interview guide during their answers to this initial, open-ended question, so the following questions were built on the information elicited during the initial question, rather than what followed next in the interview guide. All interviews, except one, which was conducted in writing via

email, were recorded on a dictaphone. I also had pen and paper at the ready, but it was noted that the interviewees became reluctant to speak, even stopped mid-sentence when attempts were made to write down points during the interview. Therefore, the dictaphone recordings were very important, as no notes were taken during the interviews. In some cases, the conversations continued after the dictaphone had been switched off. I would then note down any interesting points as soon as possible after the interview had concluded, when the information was still fresh in mind and the very words used by the interviewee could more easily be recalled.

Three interviews were conducted on a one-to-one, face-to-face basis. I was invited to two of the interviewees' homes and one interview was held at a café. The conversations flowed freely and easily. The interview guide did not tie down the conversation, but rather functioned as a reminder about the topics to be covered. The interviews were recorded on a dictaphone with the interviewees' consent. All interviews lasted between 1.5-2 hours.

One interview was conducted in the home of an interviewee, on a face-to-face basis, but with two organisations present, with one representative from each organisation. The joint interview was suggested by the interviewees, and was agreed to by me. However, the scenario was not ideal from a research perspective, as it was a challenge to ensure that both individuals' views on all the topics had been covered. The interview guide assisted the conversation. The interview was recorded on a dictaphone with the interviewees' consent. The interview lasted around 2.5 hours. A follow-up email was sent to one of the organisation with a few clarifying questions, to which the informant responded swiftly.

One organisation is based far away from where I live and the interviewee was about to travel. It was agreed, for practical reasons of time, distance and money, that the interview could be conducted by email, with the possibility of a follow-up interview, should the need arise. The interview guide was reworked into nine overarching questions, with several sub-questions, or prompts, for each main question (see appendix III). The respondent was encouraged to answer the main questions as thoroughly as possible and to use the sub-questions as a guide, but she was also encouraged not to be restrained by these. This interview form was more structured, as there was no room for me to interact with the interviewee during the interview process; to follow up on interesting themes with additional questions or to ask the respondent to elaborate on certain topics. As the email interview was asynchronous, this format allowed the interviewee to possibly take more time to think about her answers and weigh her words. I had a few follow-up questions to the first interview, and these were emailed to the respondent (see appendix IV). I asked the respondent whether she preferred to answer via email again, or if a Skype conversation could be arranged. The follow-up interview was

conducted via Skype, with video and sound. The interview lasted around 1 hour and was recorded on a dictaphone. Many of the questions that had been asked in the initial email interview were covered again, as well as the follow-up questions. It is duly noted that the interviewee to some extent was informed up-front about the topics the follow-up interview intended to cover, as she has received the questions via email. However, the conversation flowed as freely as the other one-to-one, face-to-face interviews, in which the respondents had received minimal information.

4.3.3 Interview transcription process

All interviews in this study, except one, which was conducted in writing via email, were recorded on a dictaphone. A decision was made against a full verbatim transcription of the entire conversations. Instead an approach was chosen, whereby I would listen and re-listen to the interviews recorded, and take notes, some verbatim transcription, of the interviews' most relevant sections. This approach was chosen based in several factors. One reason was that the interviews were constructed more like informal conversations and some of the dialogue exchanges were not relevant to the study. That is to say, the exchanges were necessary to build the confidence and trust between the respondents and myself to allow for a frank and honest conversation about the topic of the study, but they were not crucial for its objectives. This point is supported by Bryman (2004, p. 332) who writes that for some interviews "...it might be better to listen to them first, at least once or more usually twice and then transcribe only those portions that you think are useful and relevant." Another factor influencing this approach was that the interview guide was built around the research questions. This made the relevant data easier to detect and target and the relevant passages were transcribed. Lastly, the fact that verbatim transcriptions are very time consuming also played a role into the decision not to transcribe the interviews in their entireties. As noted above, the conversations were free-flowing and covered themes and topics that are deemed to be beyond the scope of this study, and thus a verbatim transcription of the full interviews was considered not to be optimal use of time, in addition to not necessary in this instance. The recordings of the interviews will be stored, together with the transcriptions.

4.3.4 Secondary data

This study also used documents written about and by the organisations. Documents in this context mean internet pages and other readable documentation provided by the organisations, as well as

available documentation produced by outside parties about the specific organisations, like for instance newspaper articles. The documents fed into the findings described in chapter 5.

4.3.5 Considerations and limitations to the data collection method

There are some considerations about the interviews and the interview data management that are worth observing. As noted above, the interviews were not uniform in neither structure nor format. That some interviews were conducted on a one-to-one and face-to-face basis, one via Skype, whilst one was face-to-face but with more than one organisation present, and one was in writing over email, may have influenced the level of frankness and openness in the latter two. It might be easier to be open, frank and personal if another organisation is not present or if you just talk and do not write down your thoughts. The email interview might also have given the respondent more time to think through the answers and weigh her words than what respondents in the face-to-face interviewees had.

The interviews were conducted in Norwegian. Both the interviewer and the interviewees had Norwegian as their mother-tongue. The targeted transcriptions were also written in Norwegian. However, this thesis is written in English. There is a risk that some of the information and statements are lost in translation. When conveying subjective experiences, such as motivation, people often use narratives, metaphors and proverbs. These vary from culture to culture and are often language-specific (Van Nes et al., 2010, p. 314). Many proverbs are not easily translated from one language to another, and the importance of a statement might be diminished once it has been translated. Translation between languages also involves interpretation (Van Nes et al., 2010, p. 314). This might be particularly problematic when basing the analysis and discussion of the findings on translated interview notes. The quotes are no longer the exact words of the interviewees, but have been subjected to the translation and interpretation of the researcher (Van Nes et al., 2010, p. 316). The translations, and thus interpretations, in this study were undertaken by me, and every effort was made to keep the translation as close and as true to the original language and meaning as possible.

4.5 Data analysis

Once data has been collected, the researcher needs to make sense of that data. According to Bryman (2004, p. 411), the data will “acquire significance [...] only when you have reflected on, interpreted, and theorized your data”. There are several methods one can use to make sense of the data gathered.

For the purpose of this study, the use of thematic analysis was appropriate. Thematic analysis consists of reading through the collected data, identifying themes in the data, coding those themes, and then interpreting the structure and content of the themes (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011). Saldaña (2015, p. 3) defines a code as “...a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data.” Coding is defined as “a method that enables you to organize and group similarly coded data into categories or “families” because they share some characteristics.” (p. 8)

In many ways, the thematic analysis approach is similar to the grounded theory approach, especially in its data coding approaches. However, one of the main differences is that when opting for a thematic analysis approach the researchers do not need to develop a full theory based on the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). This approach also resonates with Cousin’s writing on case studies, where she states that the most appropriate aim for the case study research is to aspire to make “fuzzy generalisations”, which means that everything is a matter of degree and nothing is certain and that probability should be seen as ‘may’ rather than ‘will’ (2005, p. 426).

A thematic analysis is also influenced by the ontological stance of the researcher. The analysis can be either realist/essentialist or constructionist in its approach. The realist/essentialist approach assumes that language inherently reflects meanings and experiences, whilst the constructionist approach holds that meanings and experiences are socially produced and reproduced; are social constructs (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 85). The collected data should also aim to be analysed beyond a description of findings in what is called a latent thematic analysis. Analysis at the latent level aims to identify and examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualisations and ideologies that have informed the semantic data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84), in other words, apply a constructionist approach to the themes that emerge from the data. This study has aligned itself with the constructionist approach.

The Findings chapter and the Analysis and Discussion chapter below (Chapters 6 and 7) will use the research questions presented in the Introduction to guide and structure the examination of the interview and secondary data. This will apply when listening to the recorded interview, as well as when reading the transcribed sections of the interviews, as well as when coding the interview data and the documents studied. Further to this, the literature review and the theoretical framework developed in Chapters 2 and 3 will also direct the analysis and discussion.

As the design of this research was a collective, multiple case study, the coded data from the different organisations will also be compared and contrasted in order to gain a greater understanding of the phenomena under scrutiny.

4.6. Trustworthiness, authenticity and reflexivity

Unlike controlled environments in which quantitative research often operates; where a study's validity and reliability is measured in its ability to be replicated (Bryman, 2004, p. 77), the very nature of qualitative research makes replication close to impossible. How can for instance a particular social setting, someone's feelings and thoughts, be replicated and external factors controlled? Some would argue that validity and reliability cannot and should not be transferred from the quantitative research tradition and applied to qualitative research, but would rather that alternative criteria should be used to assess qualitative studies, such as trustworthiness and authenticity (Bryman, 2004, pp. 273-276). This also includes credibility (there is a match between the researcher's observations and theoretical ideas developed); transferability (a "thick description" of the phenomena studied is offered, enabling others to judge the transferability of the findings to other settings); dependability (complete records of all stages of the research are kept and disclosed); and confirmability (the researcher shows that own convictions and values have not intentionally influences the research). In a similar vein, Johnson (1997, p. 282) states that in qualitative research, validity usually means research that is "plausible, credible, trustworthy, and, therefore, defensible".

Reflexivity means that the researcher examines herself and her presumptions; a reflection on how biases have affected choices made in relation to the research, as well as how they have influenced the interactions with the respondents in the study (Hsiung, 2008, p. 212). The reflexive process should be ongoing throughout the research process, and also be documented as part of the research.

This study aims to be as trustworthy and authentic, credible, defensible, and reflexive as possible. This goal will be reached by disclosure of the observations made during my research, by keeping records of findings, by declaring my own biases and by reporting the steps and hurdles encountered towards the completion of this thesis.

The main goal of this study is not to create a new theory, but to understand and explore the motivations, views and experiences of a small selection of people who work within the mainly unrecognised PAID sector of development aid in Norway. A very small sample of organisations has been studied, so it would be premature to draw any definite conclusions towards a theory. Therefore, this study does not claim that its findings are representative of Norwegian PAID initiators and organisations in general, but rather that the findings can support further research into this area, which might create hypotheses and theories. By linking the findings of the research interviews in this study with existing theories on Maslow's pyramid of needs, gift exchange and altruism, the possibility

of a theory creation is explored. However, further studies on this topic are needed in order to make firmer conclusions.

4.7 Ethical considerations

All research carries with it responsibilities on behalf of the researcher. Research should not, according to Bryman (2004, p. 520), harm participants; lack informed consent; invade privacy; or deceit. The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees have also developed generic guidelines for research ethics, which were considered in this study. The guideline includes *inter alia* “honesty, openness, systematicness and documentation”; “voluntary informed consent”; and “confidentiality” (“General guidelines for research ethics,” 2014). The following steps were taken to ensure ethically sound research in this study:

As informants were contacted via email, and confirmed their interest in participating in the research via email, no further consent was deemed necessary.

- The participants were informed about the objective of the research, briefly through an introduction in the initial email, and in more detail as part of my introduction in the interview setting.
- The respondents were assured that, even though the interviews were taped, their contributions would be anonymised in the written report of the study.
- As the Gambia can be described as a dictatorial state, the potential harmful impact of this study was considered. Could certain statements be considered a criticism of the government, and could this, if it was to become known, have a damaging impact on the organisations’ work in the Gambia? Although it is unlikely that a Gambian state representative will take an interest in this study, this ethical question was nevertheless reflected upon. The risk is considered minimal, but as a mitigating precaution the participants and their organisations have been anonymised in this study.

4.8 Research limitations

4.8.1 Subjective bias

As Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 84) argues, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the researcher to set aside his or her theoretical and epistemological convictions. This is acknowledged for this thesis' entire research process; from choice of theme to study, to the proposed research questions, to the choice of method, to the organisations chosen for interviews, to the questions asked in the interviews, to the coding and thematic classifications, to analysis of the codes and themes and to the report writing stage. It is therefore been paramount that the research process has been thoroughly documented throughout.

Cousin (2005, p. 426) states that within an interpretivist tradition the subjective bias of the researcher is accepted as a given. There are several layers of interpretation taking place at once (Bryman, 2004, p. 15). The study objects will have one interpretation their motivations and actions, whilst the researcher in turn will interpret the study objects' interpreted world. The presentation of the research will never be completely "neutral" and "objective", as the researcher will have his or her own biased "lenses" on (Ritchie et al., 2013, p. 23). These will inadvertently "colour" the interpretation of the data and influence the outcome of the report. In addition to this, the reader of the study will also understand the report subjectively, and thus complement the interpretation strata.

For the past 10 years, I have worked at a centre for governance support to developing countries. The focus of governance development work is most often on a macro level, nationally or even internationally, whilst the PAID organisations work more on a micro level, where development is seen very locally and a narrower focus. Prior to that, I worked in a large Norwegian NGDO, which operations are based on child sponsorships. Furthermore, for almost 10 years I was married to a Gambian man, who is very critical to the Gambian regime. My work experiences and my personal story, coupled with two degrees in development studies, might have influenced my questions, my understanding and interpretation throughout the thesis work. As a counter-balance to my biases and preconceptions, the work has been undertaken using a reflexivity approach. I have reflected on the personal "baggage" that I have taken into this study, and have actively tried to be as open-minded and receptive to the informants as possible.

It is acknowledged that during the interviews, the informants might have been affected by my presence. I did not explicitly disclose my personal views, assumptions and values on PAID initiatives

and the type of development work that these organisations do. This strategy might have allowed the interviews to flow freely and unconstrained, which was the intended outcome, but it might also have caused the respondents to hold back information.

4.8.2 Exploratory research

As very little research exists on the topic of PAID organisations in Norway, the focussed and narrow selection of organisations studied for this thesis will not produce sufficient evidence towards a theory. The study is of an exploratory nature, and firm, generalised conclusions about motivation and idealism in other PAID organisations in Norway are highly premature.

5. Cases and findings

This chapter will present the organisations that were studied for this thesis. The presentations are based on the interviews that were conducted, as well as the organisations' websites and Facebook pages. Six PAID organisation founders were interviewed, and all the initiatives will be presented separately. Each presentation is divided by the same structure: a short background of the organisation; motivations for starting the organisation; motivations for continuing the project; and external factors influencing the organisations' work. The accounts are to a large extent relayed in a narrative voice, as a deeper analysis and discussion of the cases will follow in chapter 6.

All of the organisations interviewed were involved in a nursery school as part of their project. I have used the terms "nursery school" and "pre-school" interchangeably, and I sometimes also refer back to a nursery school or pre-school simply as "school". I refer to the person interviewed as the "founder" of the organisation, except in case Organisation C, where the interviewee joined an established organisation after it has been formed. Thus, I refer to her as a "member" of the organisation.

5.1 Organisation A

5.1.1 Background information on the organisation

The founder of organisation A first went to Gambia in 2007 for half a year, volunteering for another Norwegian PAID organisation. This was her first time in Gambia and the first time in Africa. She started her own organisation in 2008 and today there are around 85 Norwegian child sponsors who regularly contribute to the organisation. Most of the sponsors are drawn from the founder's extended network of friends and acquaintances. The sponsors have "their own child" that they receive updates on and whom they can follow the development of. The organisation sometimes brings Norwegian sponsors to the Gambia to visit the project, but the initiative does not cover any travel costs. The organisation also receives in-kind support from some businesses, such as by support to webpage developments, by lending the organisation a venue for an event and by printing of calendars which the organisation sells. In addition, the founder and her family raise funds by selling waffles and Gambian artefacts at a shopping centre on a regular basis. The organisation has a board, which consists of the founder, her children and her daughter's friend, but it is truly the

founder that controls and runs the initiative. The organisation prides itself in not spending any funds on administration costs.

The organisation has raised money and has built a nursery school in the Gambia, which opened in 2014. During the founder's initial 6-months stay in the Gambia she had befriended a man who is now employed by the initiative as the coordinator in the Gambia. It was the coordinator who chose a village where the pre-school was built and he assisted with obtaining all legal permits, as well as with buying the land for the school building. All pre-schools in the Gambia are privately owned and run, and they receive no funding from the Gambian government. The main purpose of the nursery school is for children to learn English before they start primary school, as English is the language of instruction in schools and also the official language in the Gambia.

A total of 104 children attend the pre-school, which means that there are some children who do not have a designated sponsor in Norway. However, none of the children pay school fees and they receive uniforms, school materials and a warm meal once a day, all free of charge. The organisation is also responsible for the administration at the school, and it has employed a total of 13 people, which include qualified teachers, cooks, guards and the coordinator.

In addition to the daily running costs, smaller improvements to the buildings and the surrounding grounds are constantly planned and implemented, such as installing a water tank, investing in playground equipment or connecting the building to the electricity grid.

5.1.2 Motivation for starting the organisation

The founder reports that her initial motivation for volunteering with the other PAID organisation was a desire to do something more rewarding than what her daily job offered, and she also sought an adventure. She wanted to do something sensible and make a bit of a difference in the world. Her own kids were just moving away from home, and she felt alone and left behind. She contacted larger, more established NGOs in Norway and offered to volunteer for them, but she was turned down. Just by chance she learnt about the other, smaller PAID organisation, for which she was welcome to volunteer. The founder was very taken with all the children who were "very happy and cheery, despite having nothing", and she saw that they learned a lot in school. Also experiencing first-hand the poverty and injustice of the world made a big impact on her. The fact that she ended up in Gambia was simply by chance, purely because that was where the other PAID organisation worked. She had initially pictured herself going to Brazil or somewhere else in Latin-America.

Upon returning to Norway from the 6-months volunteering stay, the founder decided to start her own organisation, as she wanted to do things a bit differently. This time, however, the Gambia was a conscious choice, as she wanted to go back. She had seen other small organisations working in the Gambia during her initial stay and her attitude was “if others can do it, so can I”. Looking back she realises that she might have been a bit overconfident, but she also states that she is “rather stubborn” and that helped her follow through with her plans. She was very enthusiastic about starting her own organisations, but soon found that not everyone else in Norway shared her passion. It was hard to get started and difficult to raise funds, and there were many hurdles to overcome in the Gambia, too, so everything took a lot more time than she had anticipated. She is now very proud of what her organisation has managed to achieve and accomplish, and she states that “it gives me a very good feeling”.

5.1.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

The founder reports that the nursery school is “completely dependent, completely, completely dependent” on the organisation and on her, and this knowledge is a driving force for her to continue the work. She is unsure if the school would be sustained by the local community without the support from the organisation. The Gambian coordinator has raised some concerns about what would happen to the pre-school if the organisation for some reason no longer could support the project, and there is currently no plan for this eventuality. The founder states that “the path is created as you walk” and she believes that she will never end the work with the pre-school, as long as she is healthy enough to continue, as it has become an integral part of who she is as a person. She is building a home for herself very close to the pre-school and goes to the Gambia twice a year, to personally collect updates on the children and to follow other developments at the school. It is satisfying to the founder to know that the efforts of the initiative have an impact also beyond the school grounds and the children who attend it. The salary taken home by the 13 people she has employed ensures that many more people are helped.

5.1.4 External influences on the project’s development work

The organisation is heavily dependent on the inputs of the coordinator for decision-making about the school and possible new investments. From the interview it is not clear to what extent the coordinator engages staff and parents in identifying the needs at the school. Decisions about developments at the project level are taken in unison by the founder and the coordinator, but it is

clear that the organisation is dependent on the inputs of the coordinator. When asked if there are still many children in the school's surrounding community who are not offered a place at any pre-schools, the founder does not know, but adds that "it was my clear impression that when the coordinator found the village, there was a need for a pre-school there".

The organisation does not collaborate with similar PAID organisations operating in the Gambia, although she sometimes meet and talk to others when she is in the Gambia and she visits other nursery schools to get ideas, however, not on a regular basis. She does not maintain any contact with other PAID organisations in Norway, as she experiences that "they all sit on their separate mounds", and are unwilling to share information with each other. The organisation also does not seek information or advice from the Gambian diaspora in Norway, with which it has no contact.

The founder does not feel restrained or inhibited in her work by the fact that the Gambia is run by a dictator and is not a democratic and free society. She says she "does not think about it at all" and that as long as she plays by the rules, she can operate freely in the country. Her school follows a Gambian curriculum.

The organisation's webpage does not state why a pre-school is seen as the best approach to development, and this was also not made clear during the interview. However, when asked about the broader Norwegian development aid discourse, the founder states that she does not follow the development debates at home, as she does not feel this is relevant to or influences her work, and her organisation is too small to be granted official funds from NORAD. Nevertheless, she feels that she represents Norwegian development aid with her project.

5.2 Organisation B

5.2.1 Background information on the organisation

The founder organisation B travelled to the Gambia, and outside Europe, for the first time in 2008, together with a friend who had initiated a few mini-projects in the country. The trip was meant to be for holidays only, but her friend had drafted her in as a teacher at a three-day long crocheting workshop. When her friend went back to the Gambia later that year, without her, the founder felt "heartbroken", as she was "completely infatuated by the country". However, she continued to travel to the Gambia, sometimes assisting her friend's workshops, sometime she would travel with a larger

group of friends, sometimes with her family, and sometimes alone. She had befriended a taxi driver during her stays in the Gambia, and he is currently employed by the organisation as the coordinator.

Every time the founder went to the Gambia she would bring useful goods for distribution, such as notebooks and pens, and the more organised project developed from this. The founder's mother got involved and managed to fundraise enough money to renovate a school, which was successful.

However, the founder, who had a career in the Norwegian Child Welfare Services, wanted to build a home for children who were either orphaned or could not live with their parents. The Gambian coordinator's sister was raising premature, orphaned twins, and the founder decided to find Norwegian sponsors for them. By chance, she also made contact with a very young single mother, who was living on the streets with her one-year old child. The founder agreed that the young girl could move in with the coordinator's sister, and she would support them financially. This was the start of the children's home and it was also the start toward formalising the organisation.

The organisation was registered with the Brønnøysund Register Centre in 2013 and it has a board consisting of the founder, her mother, and a friend. The mother is an active fundraiser, but the organisation is run and managed by the founder.

The children's home is now the main focus of the organisation. The initiative has bought as a house in the Gambia that the children's home is located in. The house was partially funded by the sale of the founder's family's sailboat. The house is home to eight children, who each have two sponsors in Norway. There are also sponsors that contribute more generally to the children's home and whose contribution is not tied to a specific child. All together the organisation has around 24 sponsors. The children's home has four full-time and one part-time employees, who are paid for by the organisation. The sponsors are mainly friends of the founder or part of her extended network. The founder and her nuclear family also support schooling for around seven children. In addition to supporting the children's home and schooling for some children, the organisation also supports maintenance two schools, on an *ad hoc* basis. The organisation often gets businesses to support this latter type of work. The organisation has also sponsored four women with a food stall on the beach.

5.2.2 Motivation for starting the organisation

The initiative took several years to be formed, and was not intended as an organisation from the start. But as the involvement in more and more small projects developed, the need to formalise became more pressing. The founder states "I don't necessarily feel like a particularly good person", but she

does feel that the need to do something for others is “about who you are as a person”. This trait, she feels, also guided her choice of profession; a child welfare services consultant. In life, she wants to make a small difference in the world and she wants to be remembered as someone who did something worthwhile.

She thinks that certain events in her life has contributed to her involvement in development work, such as her parents divorcing, her father dying, and herself sustaining a serious back injury which left her unable to work. These events made her realise that “if you get help, it’ll be alright”. She has applied this philosophy to her work with children and youth in Norway, and applies it to her work in the Gambia. The back injury has given her more time and also a greater drive to work on her Gambian projects, because, as she puts it: “I need to have something to do, I need to have something to care about”. She feels that because she is lucky enough to live well in Norway, her projects in the Gambia are her “paybacks” and that the least she can do is to help. She empathises with the people she meets in the Gambia, and she gets very emotional thinking about how the tables could have been turned. She states that she has always cared about injustice.

When asked why she wanted to do something hands-on instead of supporting an already established organisation, she says that she needs to have “full control” over the projects, and also that she did not want her support to be spent on administrative costs or other organisational expenses that she did not agree with in a larger organisation. Organisation B reports that it has no administrative expenses.

5.2.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

The founder states that once you have started this type of work, you cannot just quit.

The children’s home is dependent on the regular monetary contributions, whilst the schools and the restaurant run themselves and would be sustained should she be unable to contribute any longer.

The point of departure for the organisation has been that the help provided should not develop a dependency on the initiative, but the founder is still not sure how the children’s home will be sustained without the contributions from Norway.

The work is very rewarding, the founder says, but then continues “sometimes I feel that it is pure egoism”. She explains: “it is fun, and I have something to do”, but she also has doubts sometimes and feels that “this is just a non-sense project”, because to have real developmental impact “you should be big, right?”. But then she is driven to continue by the realisation that without the organisation 15 children would not attend school. She sums up her main reason for continuing her

work as follows: “[It is] the certainty that you make a difference for someone. Someone has a less terrible life because you helped them.”

5.2.4 External influences on the project’s development work

The organisation needs the support of the coordinator, but is not fully dependent on him, although the founder states that the coordinator: “would fix things as best as he could, should something happen”. Most of the projects are self-reliant and most of the administrative power is in the hands of the children’s home staff. The coordinator comes up with suggestions on various issues, as do the staff members at the schools and the children’s homes. The coordinator advises the founder with regards to the suggestions. The parents of the children are not consulted.

The organisation does not work together with other, similar PAID organisations, neither in the Gambia nor in Norway, but advice and experiences are exchanged if she meets other PAID organisations. The founder reports that this has to do with control: “I need to have full control and do what I think needs to be done”. The founder says that she has many friends in the Gambia, but based on the interview information it is uncertain if advice is sought from them. She does not know any Gambians in Norway.

The founder sometimes worries about the future of her projects, due to the political situation in the Gambia. For outsiders, the situation seems calm, as there is no political unrest. The founder has consciously decided to remain neutral, and the projects are her main focus. But she does fear that the situation can change – “with the stroke of the pen by the President” – and that the investments the organisation has made in the Gambia are lost.

The founder states that she has a strong belief in educating the people to gain development. She says that she to some extent follows development debates in Norway, but that what is discussed here is not of direct relevance to her work, as her organisation is so small. She says “I have my own ideas about what will work.” She feels that when she is in Gambia she represents her organisation, but also Norway.

5.3 Organisation C

5.3.1 Background information on the organisation

The organisation was established in 1983 and is registered with the Brønnøysund Register Centre. The organisation has built, owns and runs a nursery school, a primary and secondary school, and a senior secondary school for children aged between 5 and 16. A health clinic has also been built on the school grounds. The project sponsors around 1,500 children with school fees, school supplies, uniforms, food, and health checks. The organisation also sponsors 12 university students. 61 Gambians are employed by the organisation as teachers, administrative staff, guards and cooks, and a nurse is also affiliated with the health clinic.

The main source of income for the organisation comes from around 700 private child sponsors in Norway, and the network of sponsors is wide. In addition, in-kind support, both in terms of equipment and voluntary services, is provided by a range of businesses and private persons in Norway. The organisation has a board both in Norway and in the Gambia.

The organisation spends very little on administration, and the organisation uses social media actively to communicate with sponsors. All board members travel to Gambia at their own expenses. A senior doctor from a Norwegian hospital is also an active supporter of the health clinic, and travels regularly to the Gambia at his own expense.

Organisation C is less personalised than the other initiatives in this study, as there are many more active members in the organisation. The organisation is still covered by the definition of a PAID organisation, as it is not registered as an NGO, does not receive funding from the national aid budget and is based on voluntary work (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013c; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013).

The person interviewed for this study has not been a part of the organisation since it started, but has been an active board member since 2003. The motivation for starting an organisation was thus not covered in the interview, but the inspiration for joining the organisation and remaining an active member was discussed. The member interviewed for this study joined the organisation through a colleague who was engaged in the organisation's work. She had never been to the Gambia when she joined, but travelled for the first time with the organisation in 2004.

5.3.2 Motivation for joining the project

One of the main reasons that the member is active in the organisation is due to the fairly small size of it. She says that you can easily get an overview of what the funds are spent on, and very little is spent on administration. The social bond that she has developed with the other members of the organisation is also a bonus, and they travel to the Gambia together.

She does not think that there is anything specific in her life that has made her interested in helping others, but she thinks it is “something inherent”. She enjoys the “closeness” she is able to have with the project and with the children, who are the beneficiaries. She appreciates the joy that she encounters when she travels, and in particular “the happy, beautiful children”. The closeness to the project enables her to see for herself that the work of the organisation has some effects; that children do learn to read and write, which for her in itself is a goal. She also reports that she was driven to join the organisation by a desire for adventure and the “otherness” that she would experience in the Gambia.

5.3.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

The informant states that once you have started this type of work, it is not easy to stop. She believes that personally she will continue to work for the organisation for another 5-10 years and then retire. As there are many board members, the organisation is not dependent on one person for its survival and she is optimistic that the organisation will continue well beyond her retirement, if it is able to recruit younger people to join.

However, there are some hurdles that the organisation must overcome. The schools and the health clinic that the organisation runs are fully dependent on funding from Norway, as they are owned by the organisation. Fewer sponsors and a deteriorating exchange rate have put a strain on the organisation’s ability to run operations as smoothly as it would wish. Some of the *ad hoc* sponsors have supported the construction of a school building, but beyond the construction phase they did not want to be tied to the schools. This has caused some sustainability problems for the organisation, and it is still not clear to the board how this will be solved. In a worst case scenario, where the organisation ceases to exist, the pupils will be left without a school, as the schools are owned and run by the organisation.

5.3.4 External influences on the project's development work

The organisation has a board in Norway and a board in the Gambia, which jointly make decisions that affect the operation of the schools and health clinic, with inputs from the teachers and other employees. The parents are not consulted. When the interviewee travels to the Gambia she is mainly concerned with the children and she sometimes takes them on day-trips, without their parents. However, when she travels she is also very aware that she has a limited timeframe and often a lot of work to do for the organisation.

The organisation does not work with other similar PAID organisations, but it sometimes share experiences with other PAID organisation in the Gambia, if and when they meet. The interviewee does not know any Gambians in Norway, and the organisation does not consult with the Gambian diaspora.

The board member does not think about the political situation in the Gambia. She feels that the country is very stable, but that it is corrupt. She does disclose that sometimes she hears Gambians talk about the President, but they are very careful about what they say. She says she is uncertain that she would continue working for the organisation if the country was very insecure.

The interviewee does not follow the Norwegian development discourse. She feels that the organisation is too small for the debates to be relevant to them. When she is in the Gambia she does not feel that she represents anything beyond her own organisation.

5.4 Organisation D

5.4.1 Background information on the organisation

The founder of organisation D went on holiday to the Gambia for the first time in 1981 and returned again in 1990. When she came back from the second holiday, she actively began to search for organisations that worked in the Gambia. None of the large, established NGOs did, and just by chance she heard about a small organisation that had built schools in the Gambia. She joined the organisations and travelled to the Gambia at least once a year with the organisation. Now she travels several times a year and estimates that she has been to the Gambia more than 60 times.

After some personal disagreements in the organisation she initially joined, she decided to start her own organisation, which was established in 2008. The organisation acts as a facilitator between child

sponsors in Norway and children in the Gambia, and currently 600 children are sponsored by approximately 450 sponsors. The sponsorships are the main income of the organisation and the sponsors are mainly drawn from the extended network of the founder. An affiliated primary school in Norway supported the organisation for several years, but this collaboration has now ended. The child sponsorships cover school fees, school materials and a warm meal a day. Most of the sponsored children are pupils at two schools and a pre-school that the organisation supports. The pre-school has been completely refurbished by Organisation D. Another PAID organisation in Norway also supported the refurbishment and helped recruit child sponsors, but the two organisations have since gone their separate ways. Some sponsors also support students in upper secondary school or at university. The organisation also runs a sewing shop/training centre for women and girls, as well as an internet café.

The initiative has 13 people on their payroll, who are teachers, cooks, organisation coordinators and a caretaker. As the founder travels to the Gambia several times a year, she does a lot of organisational management when she is present in the Gambia.

The initiative has a board consisting of 6 voluntary members, but the founder feels very alone with the responsibility and the amount of work that the organisation demands. She states that she does everything herself, including managing the board members. The organisation does not spend funds on administration, and does not work according to a budget, but “takes things as they come”.

5.4.2 Motivation for starting the organisation

The founder of this organisation started her own initiative to be able to continue working in the Gambia. But by the time she started she already had several years of experience of working for a PAID organisation. She had taken a short break after leaving the previous organisation, and had no intention of starting on her own, but without the PAID work to focus on she found an emptiness in her life. She states that this type of voluntary work “has become a part of my life”.

5.4.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

The founder is particularly interested in education for girls, and is keen to support the teaching of a particular skill, in addition to literacy. She is also motivated by the ripple effect that education has on a society, and she states: “The ones who get an education now will be mindful of their children again

get an education. We can already see this development. Parents have understood that education is important, and it will get better for the next generation.”

The founder reports that she is “very tired” of the work associated with the organisation. Fewer sponsors are contributing to the organisation, the exchange rate is becoming less favourable and a lot of work is involved in the project. However, she enjoys travelling to the Gambia, and finds the culture very appealing. She laughs and jokes and has a lot more fun when she is in the Gambia compared to Norway.

She sometimes thinks of quitting, but she cannot quite do it, and finds it hard to explain why. She has already started to cut down on the number of children being sponsored and believes that within a 10-year period her work in the Gambia will have ended. It is relatively easy for her to implement her exit strategy as the organisation does not own any of the schools in the Gambia. However, she realises that without sponsorships, many children will not attend school for as many years as they will do with a sponsorship, and she thinks it is a pity that pre-schools are privately owned, as parents must pay school fees, which many cannot afford. This means that many children without sponsors will not attend pre-school and thus have a disadvantage when they start primary school, particularly when it comes to the English language.

5.4.4 External influences on the project’s development work

The organisation has a coordinator that is affiliated to the project, but it is the founder that controls the decisions on funding support. She explains that she would never trust a Gambian, particularly not with money, so she disperses funds little by little. However, she does acknowledge that: “It is smart to plan together with them, and not sit at home [in Norway] and make plans”. The school children’s parents are not consulted regarding the projects, the needs and future investments. The founder states that parents are either not able to or not willing to follow up on the children’s education. The organisation “receives no feedback from the parents”. The founder also states that it is “not easy” to know if there are many children in the area where she works that do not attend pre-school.

The organisation had an initial collaboration with another Norwegian PAID initiative on the pre-school project, but this partnership ended. The founder states that the other organisation wanted “their own” school with their own organisation’s logo on the building. Now, the initiative works alone and does not interact much with other PAID organisation in the Gambia. The founder states that: “People want to own it [the project]. Be queens on their own mounds”. She believes that

many PAID organisations do not wish to see other organisations succeed, and she finds this slightly puzzling. She states that perhaps there is a sense of competition between them, but “there are plenty of people to help in the Gambia. Perhaps [competition] over sponsors back home?”. The founder knows of some Gambians in Norway, but she is not close with the Gambian diaspora, and does not solicit its advice towards her work.

The founder is concerned that the political situation in the Gambia is fragile and believes it is a matter of time before the country “explodes”. But in her daily work in the Gambia, only corruption is hampering her work.

The founder does not follow the development aid debates in Norway closely, but she sometimes read “Bistandsaktuelt”, a NORAD newspaper. However, she feels that the issues discussed are not relevant to her organisation as it is too small. She also feels that most of the debates about development aid are about mismanagement of funds, which she does not relate to as her organisation has no administration expenses and all funds raised reach the beneficiaries directly.

5.5 Organisation E

5.5.1 Background information on the organisation

There are three founders in organisation E, but the person interviewed is the leader. The three friends travelled to the Gambia on holidays for the first time in 2008 and went again in 2009. During their second trip they had brought with them some items, such as toothbrushes, pens, teddy bears and clothes that they distributed in areas that seemed particularly poor. Upon return to Norway they wanted to do more and decided to set up their own organisation, which they registered in the Brønnøysund Register Centre. They established contact with another PAID organisation in Norway, with which they collaborated on renovating a nursery school, and from which they received good advice about running an organisation and operating in the Gambia. After a few years, the organisations decided to separate their activities.

Organisation E wanted to build its own pre-school, but finding an area where there was a need for a school, as well as finding a plot of land on which to build the school did not prove easy. The organisation befriended a Gambian man on the beach, who was also a taxi driver. Together with two of his friends, the group set out to find a place where a nursery school was needed. After a few failed visits to various locations, one of the men said he had seen a woman teaching kids under a

corrugated roof in a backyard in a village. The three men were given the task of finding a plot nearby on which the pre-school could be built. The nursery school was completed in 2013 and currently holds 280 children aged 4-7, although the nursery school was intended to house 175 pupils.

The organisation has around 65 sponsors, who each support a designated child. Income is also generated from flea markets, charity concerts and sale of Gambian artefacts, among other activities. The funds support four employees in the Gambia; two cooks, a caretaker and the organisation's coordinator, as well as the school kitchen. Every day, the school children can buy lunch that is heavily subsidised, but the sponsored children do not pay for food. The organisation also improves the school building and the surrounding grounds as and when needed. In addition, the initiative has previously supported two individual children with urgent medical care.

After a long-standing conflict between the pre-school's management and the organisation, the Gambian government stepped in and all teachers were fired. On an exceptional basis, all the new teachers' salaries are now paid for directly by the government.

5.5.2 Motivation for starting the organisation

That the project was started in the Gambia was a coincidence, purely based on the three founders' holiday there. The interviewee reports that "since I was very young, it has always been a dream to contribute to people who don't have a lot". She says she cannot point to anything specific in her life that has created this desire to help, but she states that she is urged to do this type of work by "something inside me". She also says that she has always been very fond of children, and seeing children suffer makes her very emotional. She believes that although her organisation cannot do much, it can at least do something. A further motivation for starting the small organisation is the closeness to the project that this form of assistance offers, and she travels to the Gambia regularly. Another reported incentive for setting up the organisation is that no funds are spent on administration.

5.5.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

The founder finds that the children's parents appreciate and are grateful for the work the organisation does, and she is motivated and finds this acknowledgement rewarding. Furthermore, she sees that the work has a direct impact on other people's lives. Indeed, the very direct

intervention in one boy's life, where the organisation paid for his hospital treatment and most likely saved his life, made a sturdy impression on the three founders, and further motivated their work.

The founder states that the main aim of the initiative has been for the pre-school to manage by itself. The organisation's intention was to build a pre-school and then move on to a new project. However, that did not become reality. Once the school had been built, the organisation felt it needed to get involved in the operation and management of the school, so as to not watch from the side-line as it declined. The organisation had believed it was the owner of the school, but it transpired, after the school had been built, that they were indeed not the owners; they had merely funded the construction of the school. This further complicated the conflict with the management of the school. In the end, the initiative withdrew its funding support to the kitchen for a period of time, and the stalemate ended with all teachers having to leave their posts and the government taking over the management of the school. With the government on board, the initiative finds that it is not so bound to the pre-school anymore. It is now only responsible for running the kitchen at the school, in addition to the sustaining the sponsored children and paying the salaries for the four employees it has in the Gambia. However, the project has turned out to be a lot more demanding than the organisation anticipated from the start, and the initiative found itself in a dependency-relationship it did not foresee. No future projects are planned by the organisation, beyond making the pre-school self-sustained and independent.

5.5.4 External influences on the project's development work

The organisation itself decides where to spend its fund. There has been some attempts to involve the pupils' parents at the school by arranging meetings between the school and the parents, but few parents have showed an interest in this initiative. The organisation has also attempted to hold a "dugnad"¹, but this initiative also did not yield a high interest from the parents. The organisation's coordinator has sporadic contact with the parents.

The organisation no longer collaborates with another PAID organisation in the Gambia, but it is part of a network of various PAID organisations in Norway, where ideas, experiences and challenges are discussed. In addition, one of the founding members of the organisation is married to a Gambian man, who occasionally offers his insights into the Gambian culture and way of thinking. Beyond him, the organisation does not know any Gambians in Norway.

¹ A "dugnad" is a rather Norwegian concept, where a community work together on a voluntary basis for an outcome that is to the benefit of the whole community

The organisation deliberately keeps a low profile in the Gambia and avoids media attention, due to the unpredictable political situation. However, the organisation has had a very good cooperation with the government's school officials.

The founder of the organisation reports that she follows Norwegian debates on development aid to a small degree. However, she feels that her organisation is too small for the debates to be relevant.

When the pre-school was opened and a big party was held, the founder felt that she representing something bigger than herself and the organisation; that the school was donated partially on behalf of the Norwegian people.

5.6 Organisation F

5.6.1 Background information on the organisation

The founder of Organisation F travelled to the Gambia for the first time on holiday in 1996. He bought a lot of pens and notebooks and similar items that he handed out during the holiday. He met a woman who was teaching children in a shack, and focused his hand-outs at this pre-school the next time he visited the Gambia. The organisation's founder continued to visit the Gambia almost yearly and always brought gifts with him, mainly to the nursery school. A local newspaper in Norway printed a story about the support he was giving to the school in the Gambia, and a few random people called to pledge support. The founder's uncle was a Lions Club member, and the local Club's chapter supported the project with some funds. When the uncle died, any donations at his funeral were earmarked for the Gambian school project. As the funds became a bit more substantial, the founder decided to expand the work and decided to construct a proper school building. The pre-school was officially opened in 2011 and has between 80-90 children in attendance. None of the children in the school have Norwegian sponsors, as the founder wants all the children to be equal in the school. Money is raised to keep school fees down, so that all the children benefit. The organisation also raises money towards the teachers' salaries. All the teachers have been supported with a teacher education. The founder had explicitly expressed that he did not want to take part in the management of the school, and beyond supporting the school financially, this has worked well.

The founder has been contacted by a number of people in Norway who want to sponsor a specific child in the Gambia, so in his travels he has picked out older children in other schools to be sponsored. He acts like a liaison and administrator between the children in the Gambia and the

sponsors in Norway. Currently there are around 20 individual child sponsors in Norway, in addition to the local Rotary and Lions clubs, who sponsor a total of 38 children and youth in the Gambia. The children are personally picked by the founder in the area where he normally spends most of his time in the Gambia. They are often chosen by random or via families with whom the founder already has a relationship.

The organisation is not registered in the Brønnøysund Register Centre and does not have a board. No funding is spent on administration costs. The organisation does not have a local coordinator in the Gambia.

5.6.2 Motivation for starting the organisation

The founder reports that he was motivated to help in this direct way, because he can then assert full control over the funds that are raised. He believes it is positive that no funds are spent on administration as it ensures that all funds raised reach the beneficiaries. His work is guided by the philosophy that “nobody can help everybody, but everybody can help someone”.

The founder suffered from a heart attack a few years ago, and this highlighted to him how well off people are in Norway with access to jobs, pensions and free healthcare. Seeing for himself the poverty in the Gambia in contrast with the affluence in Norway made an impact on him, and he feels that “it is OK to share”.

5.6.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

The founder finds the work rewarding, although he admits that he has not seen “great results” of his development interventions yet. The founder further states that “development is a long-term project”, and thus is not overly worried about the lack of results. However, seeing how youth that have been supported are able to think critically and discuss the society in which they live, confirms to him that the help is useful.

As the founder was adamant that he did not want to take part in the operational management of the school he built, he is confident that the pre-school will continue to exist should he be unable to support it any longer. However, if he suddenly were unable to connect with the 38 sponsored children and youth anymore, they would probably “experience a vacuum”, and he acknowledges that the sponsored children have become dependent on him for their continued education. There is

nobody else in the organisation, so no one would be able pick up the work and continue where he left it.

5.6.4 External influences on the project's development work

All of the organisation's work is very much based around the founder's personal involvement. There is no local coordinator who helps him when he is in Norway. The founder reports that he has many good friends in the Gambia, but he would not trust anyone else but himself to manage the financial side of his project.

The organisation does not collaborate with other PAID organisations, but he does exchange experiences with others if they meet. He does not know any Gambians in Norway, so no experience or advice is drawn from the diaspora.

The founder feels that the Gambia has been politically stable for the past 20 years. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that the Gambia is dictatorship and believes it is "only a matter of time" before the country "explodes" in protests, and this might then have a negative impact on his work in the country.

The founder of the organisation does not follow development aid debates in Norway. However, he states that "education is the key to everything". Having travelled to the Gambia a number of times, he has come to realise that what is stopping people from obtaining an education is not the lack of school buildings, but the absence of financial resources to enable their access to the education institutions. The founder feels that he represents more than just himself when he is in the Gambia. He represents his organisation's sponsors, as well as "Norwegian values".

5.7 Collation of findings

The below word cloud summarises some of the main findings of this chapter. A thorough analysis and discussion of the main themes emerging from the findings will follow in the next chapter.



Illustration 2: Word cloud of findings

6. Analysis and discussion

In the previous chapter, a summary of each interview undertaken for this study was presented, and below the findings will be linked with the literature and research that exists, as well as theories about motivation and giving. The structure of the chapter will around the research questions, but it is acknowledged that, although motivation is an internal feeling – “something” inside – that leads to a certain behaviour, external factors might also influence motivation. The division of this chapter, thus, is mainly for overview and structure, and it is acknowledged that influences on motivation are not compartmentalised in reality.

In line with the ontological (constructionist) and epistemological (interpretivist) approached in this thesis, the motivational reasons examined below are interpreted at several layers; by the interviewees, by me and by the reader. It is likely that further motivational factors exist beyond what has been captured in the interviews and in the interpretation.

6.1 Main traits of the organisations studied

6.1.1 The holiday becomes a happenstance aid organisation

Research has shown that a holiday to a country in the South, often coupled with an emotional, personal encounter with poverty, can act as a catalyst for starting a PAID organisation in the home-country (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 57; Pollet et al., 2014, p. 16). For most of the cases in this study this was true. One founder had done some research before leaving Norway and decided to bring a lot of items for distribution during his very first trip to the Gambia. Although personal encounters with poverty ensued, the founder was not completely unprepared. Another founder travelled to the Gambia for the first time as a volunteer for another PAID organisation, and a third combined a holiday with volunteering. These founders were “on a mission” already before travelling to the Gambia for the first time, but personal and emotional encounters with poverty and injustice occurred, and influenced their desire to help in the Gambia. Although some of the initiative founders had some limited prior experiences with aid work in the Gambia, this study shows that the organisations’ work were still to a large degree based on happenstance.

Most of the founders in this study said that they returned from their initial trip(s) to the Gambia with an urge to “do something”, but exactly how that “something” would shape up was for most not clear

from the start, and for some, the road ahead is also not clear. Some founders reported that they make a budget, which function as a plan for the project, whilst others have no budgets and no concrete plans beyond continuing the work that is already ongoing. Two of the respondents stated that “the road is made as you walk it” (veien blir til mens man går) and another three reported that they had raised funds in Norway prior to deciding where and how the funds should be spent in the Gambia. A general lack of planning is common among PAID organisations, and research from the Netherlands shows that PAID projects are often implemented without a political economy analysis, which often leads to poorly locally embedded projects (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 57).

The trend among European PAID initiatives, which was mirrored in this study, is that the aid work is concrete, tangible and easily graspable for the donors, such as building of schools and sponsoring children’s education, building children’s homes and health clinics (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013; Pollet et al., 2014). Some targets are set for the initiatives’ work and some planning is undertaken - and the results are visible: the school has been built, little Amie has attended nursery school, the pupils have received warm food every day in school.

6.1.2 Administration: efficiency and effectivity, outputs and outcomes

All the cases presented in this study took pride in not spending any funds on administration and that “every penny reaches the recipient” (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013b). This is also a feature of other PAID organisation in Norway, as proven by their webpages. However, this is an area that is not discussed to a great extent in studies on European PAID organisations. It is difficult to ascertain why the Norwegian organisations believes that this is an important feature, but as was discussed in chapter 2, it is possibly connected to a general sense among the Norwegian public that official ODA often ends up with corrupt state leaders, is embezzled *en route* to the recipient, or is spent on organisational administration in Norway (see for instance Bolle, 2016; DN.no, 2010; Haugen, 2015; Salvesen, 2016; Salvesen & Dahl, 2011; Skevik, 2011). Most of the respondents in this study supported this by vague statements like “you hear about this all the time”, although none could think of any concrete examples. There seemed to be a belief among the interviewees in an automatic connection between low administration costs and effective and efficient aid delivery. One respondent stated that her organisation gets a lot more work done per *krone* than does NORAD, because none of the funds her organisation raise go to “administration costs, corruption and embezzlement and such nonsense”. According to Eggen (2013) “effective aid” means, in its simplest form, that for every *krone* spent, the best possible results are achieved. The question then becomes, what are the best possible results? Most PAID organisations’ project outputs are tangible and visible, and thus relatively easy to report

on and quantify (a school has been built, 20 children's tuition fees were taken care of last year, 150 kids were fed a meal every school day, on so on), but the outcomes of the aid interventions are often not considered. What are the longer-term impacts of the aid initiative? In what ways does the aid assistance change the local or larger society, and is it for the better? The interviewees in this study were asked how they thought their projects would have an effect beyond the actual aid investment they were involved in, for instance beyond a nursery school. Most answered that education is the key to every developmental change, but exactly how other changes would occur remained blurry. One stated that "education is important and things will be better in the next generation" and one said that it is "a goal in itself that the children will learn to read and write". The respondents also felt that their organisations were too small to have much impact, and most stated that "you cannot help everyone, but everyone can help someone". The absence of outcome and impact analysis and reporting in the PAID initiatives can in part be explained by the lack of context analysis; by the projects' focus on the tangible and visible; and by the small sizes of the organisations. In addition, planning and result measurements involve a degree of administration, which the PAID organisations do not want to have.

6.1.3 The logic of the one and the effects of this focus

Another common feature among the organisations interviewed was that most of their income was based on private sponsors, often from the founders' extended social network, who often wanted to support "their own" child. Some of the organisations in this study supported school fees for all the pupils in the schools that they were involved in, whilst others did not. Even in the cases where all the children's school fees were paid for, there were still opportunities for Norwegian sponsors to support and maintain contact with "their child". Little thought seemed to have been given about the larger societal impact of the personal support to one specific child. What about the children who were not sponsored, but lived next-door? How does the sponsorship change relationships within a community? Does it create jealousy? Resentment? One organisation had given this some thought, though, and had decided that none of the pupils in the school that the organisation supported would have a personal sponsor from Norway. However, the organisation directly supported pupils and students from other schools. For the child sponsors and the founders of the organisations, the "logic of the one", as Malkki describes it (2015, pp. 96-97, 102), seemed to be the overarching concern: the sponsoring of the *one* child, the focus on the *one* school, etc. The logic of the one fuels the sense of personal closeness to the project, and it is easy to visualise what the aid money is spent on (Kinsbergen et al., 2011; Malkki, 2015).

Eggen (2013) claims that aid assistance does not happen in a vacuum, but for the PAID organisations, with the narrow development focus and the lack of a context and impact analyses, it seems that the vacuum does exist. Malkki (2015, p. 102) states that: “People may want to help and give, and yet not want to get involved in *knowing* about the political complexities of, say, violence and suffering in Congo or Syria. It is easier to just give money to the [...] shy little child, “the special one””. In this study, this is apparent by the organisations deliberately not taking a stance on the role of the oppressive state in the Gambia. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 7. By focussing on the one, be it a child or a school building, a playground, a well or a wall, the development gift is merely treating the symptoms, and does not address the causes of poverty.

6.1.4 Sustainability in a “one man’s show”

All but one of the organisations studied were relatively small and were based around and dependent on the personal and often emotional involvement of the founders themselves, which has also been seen in PAID organisations elsewhere in Europe (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2010). One organisation in this study was not focused around *one* person, and it was the largest one represented. It had an operative board both in Norway and in the Gambia. Four of the other organisations had a board in Norway, and in most cases the board consisted of the founder’s friends and family members. The founders reported that in reality the initiatives were run by them alone. One organisation was less formally organised than the five others, as it was not registered as an organisation, did not have a board and also did not have a coordinator in the Gambia. This initiative was completely dependent on the *one* person, the founder, for everything. Four organisations had employed a coordinator in the Gambia, who would handle administrative work when the founders were not themselves present in the Gambia, another feature that is known from PAID initiatives in Europe (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 58). A discussion about the role and influence of the coordinator will follow below in section 6.4. That the organisation is based around and dependent on one person has a huge impact on the sustainability of the projects, and although most of the founders had thought about what would happen to the projects if they were unable to carry on with the work, the thinking had for the most parts not concluded in a solution. Some of the founders’ exit strategies were to just sponsor fewer and fewer initiatives and children and thus letting the organisation wind itself up over time, whilst others were hoping for a younger person to come along (in Norway) who would want to take over the PAID work. The personal aspect of the PAID organisations, the very personal investments that the founders make into the projects, can be seen as unfavourable to the projects’ ability to survive beyond that person’s involvement.

6.1.5 Their own worst enemy?

As has been illustrated above, the PAID organisations, in this study and in general, are both a heterogeneous and homogeneous group. Kinsbergen (2014, p. 44) states that whereas the organisations “...have some basic features in common – they vary widely regarding their organisational structure, their intervention types and their intervention manners”. The organisations reviewed in this study all share some of the main traits that also characterise PAID organisations in Europe. In addition, they also have their unique differences, which are often based on the convictions and personality of the PAID organisation’s founders. Some of the features that make PAID organisations attractive both to the founder and the sponsors: the logic of the one; the closeness to the projects; the very personal involvement; the visible outputs; the refusal to spend funds on administration and thus on measuring impact, are also the traits that are the most objectionable about the PAID organisations, and that could possibly lead their downfalls.

6.2 Personal motivations for starting the organisation

A need to “do something”

When this research was in its infancy, it was expected that the interviewees would claim that something in their upbringing or education had spurred their interest in development work. This would be expected based on Tvedt’s (2007) theory of the Norwegian “regime of goodness” where the Norwegian population is fed development aid stories from, *inter alia*, the media and through the education system. The public has generally a positive attitude towards development aid (OECD-DAC, 2013). However, none of the respondents believed that anything specific about their upbringing had led them in the direction of development aid work. It was argued in chapter 2 that the “regime of goodness” is deep-seated in the Norwegian people’s psyche. Even if the participants in this study did not actively point out any specific, external influences for their motivation to help others, it is still possible that they have been influenced, but this would be impossible to prove.

However, a few of the respondents reported that certain personal life experiences had acted as “wake-up calls”, such as losing a loved one or going through illnesses, and these incidents had made them rethink the meaning of life. Some also stated that when their children moved away from home, they needed to have something worthwhile and rewarding to do, someone to care for. The involvement in the PAID organisation might have made them feel as they were part of something

greater than themselves, that they were part of a “world out there” (Malkki, 2015, pp. 9-10). The interviewees reported that, rather than being influenced by media, their upbringing or education, their desire to “do something” stemmed from “something” inside of them, an inherent, intrinsic feeling; a *need* to help. Lichtenberg (2010) claims that people do what they think is good, because it is part of who they are; it is part of their identities.

Travelling, adventure and guilt

When asked whether they could not have rather worked as volunteers in Norway, for instance, applying their desire and need to be useful and helpful in an arena in Norway, most interviewees stated that it was accidental that the projects ended up in the Gambia, but they also acknowledged that they were driven by the opportunity to continue travelling to the Gambia. They were excited about the adventure, the “otherness” and the different culture they would encounter there. And having spent a little time in the Gambia initially, they had become attached to *that* country. Had the first holiday or travel been to, say, Tanzania, it is very possible that the PAID initiative had had its focus in that country.

Travelling to the Gambia, and seeing poverty with their own eyes, although they rationally knew it was a poor country, made an emotional impact on them. Upon returning home, the contrast between Norway and the Gambia was striking, and many felt uncomfortable about living carelessly in a rich society. Statements like “It is kinda pay-back time for me”; “I think it is OK to be able to do something for someone”; and “I think it is alright to share” were common and described feelings of guilt. One of the interviewees was a little embarrassed about inviting me to her home, as she felt that the beautiful house she lived in conflicted with the work she was doing for poorer people in the Gambia. This feeling of guilt also created a need to help among most of the founders interviewed. There was a need to alleviate their own guilt for living such comfortable lives when they had been personally confronted with the poverty of others.

Need to help or need *for* help

Malkki (2015) raises the question of who the needy is; is it the aid recipient or is it the donor? It is clear that the respondents’ personal encounters with poverty in the Gambia influenced their perception that the Gambians are “the needy”. They wanted to help as there was a perceived need at the other end for their assistance. This can be seen as altruistic behaviour, a behaviour that

transcended the personal needs of the donor. However, there seems not to have been, in many cases, a thorough analysis of what the need in the Gambia actually consisted of. For instance, is the need for nursery schools the greatest need in the country, or are the PAID initiatives supporting these types of projects because they are “easy” to invest in? Because the donor is giving and doing “something” in the Gambia, and thus gets a “warm glow” feeling? To what extent are the needs in the Gambia determined by the donor? This question will be discussed in more detail in section 6.4 below. One interviewee came to realise, after the PAID organisation had financed and completed a renovation of a school, that what is hindering development in the Gambia is not a lack of school buildings. So although the project in itself was successful; the goal was reached and there was a school to show for it, the organisation is no longer involved in this type of development work. The focus of the organisation continues nevertheless to be on education as *the* route to development.

The perceived needs for help in the Gambia must be seen in context of the needs of the donor, the inherent urge to “do something”. That this “something” is not necessarily based on an assessment of the actual needs of the recipient, might suggest that for the donor the need *to* help is as important as the need *for* help. The donor’s need to help and the actual helping and giving might assist him/her towards self-actualisation. It is worth bringing in an argument from chapter 4, where it was argued that helping others and helping oneself is not mutually exclusive, and one does not diminish the other. However, this does not imply that just any help is necessarily positive and good, nor does it imply that it is negative or bad. Good intentions can sometimes cause unexpected outcomes. The development gift is complex, and it is not always possible to decipher who the ultimate beneficiary is.

Control, ownership and the gift

Some of the characteristics of the PAID initiative, as described in chapter 2 and under section 6.1, also serve as motivational factors for the interviewees, such as keeping control over the project, maintaining a sense of ownership, as well as the closeness to the aid project that the PAID work offers. Four of the respondents overtly stated that they are motivated by the work they do because they are in control of what the funds they raise are spent on. They are also motivated by the closeness they have to the project. This notion of control brings in the issue of ownership and stakeholders. Who “owns” the PAID projects? Does the person who controls the funds have a greater or the final say in how the project is planned and implemented? Some of these questions will also be discussed below under section 6.4.

As was noted above, PAID initiatives often implement projects that are poorly locally embedded (Kinsbergen & Schulp, 2013, p. 57). None of the founders interviewed had consulted with the parents of the children who attended their schools, prior to building the pre-schools. One respondent stated when asked if there were still many children in the local community who should attend school: "No, I don't think so. Well, I don't know, but I don't think so. But it was my clear impression, when the coordinator found the village, that there was a need for a pre-school there". Some of the organisations in this study reported that interaction with the local community, if it takes place, often is with the "village chief" and the elder men, but do these men represent those who are the stakeholders in the development project, say a nursery school? Does the coordinator, who is employed by the PAID organisation, represent the local community and stakeholders?

The discussion about the development as a gift is also suitable here. Can you give away a gift and at the same time keep it? It was argued in chapter 3 that the development gift is an interested gift and that there are strings attached, despite the gift possibly being presented and intended by the donor as a free gift. The PAID initiatives in this study may exemplify this. Although there are variances between the PAID organisations and the projects they support, as well as the degree to which they are involved in and control these, there is a sense, to a larger or smaller degree, among all of the interviewees that the projects are "theirs". On the one end of the scale, you find Organisations A and C, where private schools have been built and are owned and managed by the organisations. The gift is the school, but the school is nevertheless not given away. The gift is still maintained, controlled and owned by the organisations. On the other end of the scale, you find Organisation F, which refurbished a school but was very clear about not wanting to interfere with the operational and managerial side of the school. The gift was the refurbishment and it was given away as a free gift. However, the same founder still stated that he is motivated by the control he has over the funds he raises. His aid focus is now on paying tuition fees for pupils and students whom he hand-picks himself. The children and youth need to present school reports in order to continue receiving financial support from him. The gift is not given away without conditionalities, and to a large degree the founder retains control over the funds – the gift - as he intended. An example from the middle of the scale is interesting. Organisation E built a nursery school at a location recommended by a befriended taxi driver, and the organisation thought it owned the school, only to find out later that that was not the case. The organisation had intended to build the school, be the owner of it, but not to be involved in the operational management of it. The intention was to build the school and move on to a new project. However, the organisation became heavily involved in the management of the school, as the initiative did not want to let go of the gift. The organisation's founders felt that the gift (the school) was not used (run) in the way that they had intended it to be. The gift was intended as a

free gift, but was transformed along the way into something different. The management of the pre-school was in the end taken over by the Gambian government. This example illustrates both the complexities that can arise over control and ownership, and it demonstrates the implications of not having a well-structured, stakeholder-owned plan in place before a project is being implemented. The case in point also indicates that the PAID initiative do not operate in a vacuum, but is part of a larger societal structure that the founder might not have taken into account from the outset (Haaland & Wallevik, 2016)

6.3 Motivation for sustaining the project

6.3.1 Rewarding work

Many of the same feelings that inspired the initiation of the PAID organisation also influence the founders' motivation for continuing the work. All of the interviewees were asked the question: "What do *you* get out of being involved in your organisation's work?" Although the previous section has shown that the PAID organisation founders are also considered "the needy"; that aspects of "warm glow" and self-realisation are important motivational factors, answering this direct question proved very difficult. The interviewees had spoken freely and uninterruptedly about the structure and the work of their organisations for between 5 to 10 minutes prior to this question, which, when asked, halted the flow of the conversation a little. It is difficult to ascertain why this question was so difficult to answer, but could it be that they perceived their help as altruism and the gifts as free? Could it be that it was embarrassing for them to acknowledge that they personally gained something from other people's poverty?

However, all of the respondents stated that the work they do is "very rewarding". They still had problems answering *in what ways* the work was rewarding and general statements like "I get so much from the work" and "I get back much more than what I give" were common. Drilling down on the question, some stated that seeing the children happy was a reward in itself, and the conviction that without their organisation's intervention the children would most likely not have gone to school, motivated them to continue. Three founders stated that they were inspired by seeing that someone was better off because of their interventions, and one respondent overtly stated that that "gives me a good feeling". The "warm glow" acted as a motivator for the founders to keep working on their initiatives.

6.3.2 Dependency and identity

Another issue that was recurrent in the interviews was dependency. The recipients are dependent on the work and funding of the PAID organisations, and the donor's awareness of this reliance inspired them to continue their PAID work. In some ways an inter-dependency can be observed: The donors had become almost as dependent on the PAID work as the recipients had, although for very different reasons. Several respondents stated that "once you start this type of work, you cannot just stop". One interviewee stated that even though she felt tired and sometimes overwhelmed by the amount of work that running the PAID organisation entailed, and she wanted to end her engagement with her PAID initiative, she asserted that she just could not quite do it. The PAID work had become a part of her life and of who she was; a part of her identity. Another respondent also stated that she did not believe she would ever stop the work with the school she was involved in, as it had become an integral part of who she was as a person, i.e. her identity. On the one hand, their innate traits and personalities influenced and motivated their involvement in the PAID organisations, and on the other hand, the PAID work contributed to and strengthened this very side of their identity, toward their self-realisation and self-transformation (Haaland & Wallevik, 2016; Lichtenberg, 2010; Malkki, 2015; Maslow, 1965). In other word, their identities continued to influence their work, and the PAID work also influenced their identities. The inherent, intrinsic feelings that inspired the founders to start the PAID organisations also motivated them to continue. This interaction between self-actualisation and transcendence links well in with the argumentation that led to the Figure 3 in Chapter 3.

6.3.3 Fun-factor

Kinsbergen (2014, p. 144) describes a "fun-factor" as a motivation driving the PAID initiative founders. The work is serious, but it also allows for fun. One interviewee described how she sometimes felt pulled in different emotional directions by her PAID work. She was drawn between the fun- factor that the project brought her: "it is fun, and I have something to do", and the sense that "this is just a non-sense project", because to have real developmental impact "you should be big, right?", and the realisation that without her organisation 15 children would not attend school; "Someone has a less terrible life because [I] helped them". The fun-factor, along with the seriousness of her involvement – the direct impact her intervention had on someone's life - acted as a motivation for her to continue the PAID work. Another informant said that she laughs and jokes and have a lot more fun when she is in the Gambia compared to Norway, and the opportunity that

the PAID work gives her to travel to “The Smiling Coast”, as the Gambia sometimes is dubbed, to be have more fun and be happier than in Norway, was motivating to her. Malkki (2015, pp. 42-43) also states that “...travel has been sought as a chance to feel differently, to be differently embodied, differently gendered, differently classed, or just to be *otherwise* “. Travelling allows for more fun, and it allows for self-transformation. The opportunity to leave the dull everyday life behind and go somewhere else and become someone else – a happier version of oneself – acted as a motivational factor.

6.4 External influences on the project’s development work

6.4.1 The coordinator

Four of the initiatives that form part of this study have employed a coordinator in the Gambia, and the coordinators’ presence “on the ground” and as a liaison focal point is very important to these organisations. The Norwegian founders use social media to keep in contact with the coordinator. The coordinators’ roles differ from case to case, and some are more involved in the organisations’ work than others.

It is interesting to note that on the surface it seems as if the coordinator have become connected to the PAID organisational work by accident; one organisation’s coordinator was the taxi driver at the hotel, others were befriended at local restaurants and at the beach. Haaland and Wallevik (2016) suggest that the friendship which turns into employment for the coordinators might not be as accidental as they seem. The friendship might be built on the Gambian person’s ulterior hopes of employment.

The coordinators in the cases studied for this thesis have influential roles in the organisations. Although they are not themselves the end-recipients of the help from the PAID projects – they do not benefit directly from the schools being built, or the wells being drilled - they nevertheless benefit from being employed by the organisations. The influence that the coordinators have on, say, where a school is built, what the priority for the next investment should be and so forth, makes the coordinator an active aid agent. Haaland and Wallevik (2016) refer to this agency as “recipient entrepreneurship”. For instance, when the founder in Organisation B was interested in building a children’s home in the Gambia, the coordinator directed her attention to his sister, and in Organisation E the coordinator and his friends were all involved in choosing a site for a nursery

school. In organisation A, the coordinator chose a village where the school could be built. It is not known from the interview what connection the coordinator had to this village prior to recommending it for the pre-school.

It is difficult to know the full extent of the power-relationship between the founder and the coordinator, and of course these relationships will all differ from organisation to organisation. The coordinator might have a very influential role in the organisation, but the ultimate decision-making power might still sit with the founder, who controls the money. As was noted above, this control might also affect the sense of ownership of the project, which in turn have implications for sustainability .

6.4.2 Other organisations

It was thought that, as so many small Norwegian PAID organisations operate in the Gambia, there would perhaps be exchanges of knowledge and experience between the organisations, as for many their first encounter with development work is through their own organisation. Two founders' initial introduction to PAID work was by volunteering for another PAID organisation before starting their own initiative, one founder combined her holiday with assisting a friend's PAID work, and another started her own organisation but collaborated with another PAID initiative. Despite this, when asked if there is any collaboration between PAID organisations in the Gambia, all of the respondents answered that there is not. They stated that they occasionally and incidentally run into other PAID organisation in the Gambia, and that superficial experiences and pleasantries are exchanged, but that this is just on an ad-hoc basis. When the founders are in Norway, they are not in contact with any other PAID organisations, except for one organisation that is part of a knowledge-sharing network of Norwegian PAID organisation (see section 2.7 above). Two of the respondents used the expression "sitting on their own mounds" to indicate that the PAID organisations seem to work in silos and in a vacuum. One person said that the "Janteloven"² might be to blame. A lack of collaboration could also have to do with control and ownership. One founder spelled this out and said: "I need to have full control and do what I think needs to be done". Another founder stated that the partnership she had had with another organisation ended as the other initiative wanted to build their own school and put their own logo on it. It might be that new initiatives use the more established PAID organisations as a springboard towards properly establishing themselves. It seems that the PAID organisations are

² "Janteloven" is a term and concept used in Scandinavia to describe negative attitudes towards individuality and others' success

open to collaboration when there is no perceived “threat” from the partnership, but as the initiatives grow larger, more independence, control and ownership is sought.

6.4.3 Norwegian development discourse, Gambian community in Norway and PAID representation

With no background from development work, it was believed that perhaps the PAID organisations would seek information about development work by following discussions in the media, reading *Bistandsaktuelt*, accessing NORAD’s webpages, and so forth, to learn more about what development could be, should be and is. None of the informants stated that they paid much attention to the Norwegian development discourse. Furthermore, none of the respondents knew any Gambians in Norway, although the Gambian community in Norway counts around 2,500 people (Statistics Norway, 2016). The diaspora could potentially advise the organisations about Gambian society and culture that the organisations could benefit from.

A few respondents said that they read *Bistandsaktuelt* from time to time, but they felt that the Norwegian development discussions were too broad and not relevant for their organisations and work, because their initiatives are so small. However, most of the interviewees felt that, by their involvement in development work in the Gambia, they were both part of and represented something that was greater than themselves. Many felt that they represented their PAID organisation, the donors in Norway, Norwegian values³, the Norwegian people and Norwegian development aid. It is interesting to observe that although there seems to be a lack of knowledge and interest in Norway’s development policies, many of the interviewed PAID initiators feel that they represent Norway, in some form, when they are in the Gambia.

6.5 The wish to help and the need to help

The sections above have focused strongly on the donors’ motivation for starting and continuing work with a PAID organisation. That the founders have a *wish* to help in the Gambia, that they are inspired and motivated by being able to help someone, is clear, and the wish to help can in many instances transcend personal interests. But the wish to help is also accompanied by a *need* to help, where the personal interests of the founders become apparent. By acknowledging, exploring and understanding the donors’ wish and need to help, as well as the external factors that influence their

³ What the “Norwegian values” encompass was not discussed in the interview

motivation, a better picture can be gained of what certain driving forces are behind some of the PAID initiatives in Norway.

7. Other findings

This chapter will present, without a great degree of analysis, some findings that are slightly beyond the scope of this thesis, but that are nevertheless considered interesting when exploring the PAID phenomena. These findings can possibly inspire further research into a field which demands further attention.

7.1 Perceptions of us/them and cultural differences

One of the most interesting observations that fall outside the scope of this study is how the interviewees portray the “us” and the “them”, as well as how they assess cultural differences. At one level, they all express a great love for the Gambia; the country and the people, but on another level, they hold a slight disdain towards the people, in particular the adult population. All of the interviewees work with children in the Gambia, and sentiments like “I get to meet a lot of joyful, beautiful kids”; “it was easy to get sponsors when I posted pictures of cute, brown children”; and “after the kids got to know us it was pleasant to be there. So many joyful, happy children, even though they have nothing” appear in almost all of the interviews. This, however, is coupled with a complete absence of contact with the children’s parents, and two of the respondents stated that the parents were unable/incapable (klarer ikke) of following up on their own kids. Would a school be started in Norway without the parents being involved and consulted? It might seem that the children are viewed as innocent and harmless, but that involvement with adult Gambians is more complicated. Mathers (2012, p. 31) states that some of the small organisations “... allow the Africans to be consistently present but irrelevant to the project of making Africa safe for Africans” and this statement seems relevant to the findings here.

Most of the interview respondents travel to the Gambia several times a year, and they report that they have great friendships with Gambians. At the same time the interviews reveal that the interviewees do not trust the Gambians, and they see them as “different”. A few of the respondents stated that it is very difficult to get to know Gambians and you cannot really talk with them beyond exchanging pleasantries. This might be rooted in what Hattori (2001, p. 634) calls the “symbolic power politics between donor and recipient”, where the gift, the development project, “transforms material dominance and subordination into gestures of generosity and gratitude”. It is difficult to form friendships when the power-relationship, manifested in unequal material and monetary access,

is skewed from the outset. One respondent allured to this by stating “We are treated with an enormous respect and they are very grateful”.

Two respondents explicitly stated that they would never trust a Gambian with money, as the money would inevitably end up with the Gambian person’s family and relatives. Another two respondents stated that the only person they trust in the Gambia is their local coordinator. According to one interviewee, the coordinator in her organisation is very different from other Gambians and he would even describe himself as “black on the outside, but white on the inside”. The statement stood out for me, as I truly do not think the interviewee understood the implicit racial prejudice that this statement carried. The fact that it was the Gambian coordinator himself who had stated this, made it somehow less damaging and controversial for her and she told me this with a giggle. However, this one statement mirrored some of the feelings that the other interviewees displayed towards Gambians in general; that “they” are very different from “us”.

The interviewees were slightly amazed and puzzled, sometimes exhausted, at the perceived cultural difference between themselves and the Gambians they encountered. Statements like “they are not used to organizing things the way that we do”; “after so many years, why can’t they ever learn?”; “they don’t get things done easily. Sometimes we think “they’re so lazy, nothing changes, let’s go somewhere else where people have more of a drive””; and “we think a lot more logical than them and we think further ahead than just until supper time” all point to the understanding of the Gambians being very different from the Norwegian PAID initiator.

Haaland and Wallevik (2016) suggest that the PAID initiatives possibly engages in a “civilising” project where a skewed power asymmetry is prominent. They argue that the limited knowledge and indeed limited interest that PAID organisations have in the local context underlines the civilising aspect – the donor knows best, controls the money and thus has the power. This is a step backwards, to an era which the mainstream development regime has actively worked to move away from, by now focussing on ownership of development results; partnerships; transparency and shared responsibility (NORAD, 2012a; OECD, 2011).

7.2 Gender and PAID

In this study five women and one man were interviewed. As the sample is so small, it is difficult to ascertain whether the PAID phenomenon in Norway has a heavier female representation. However, Haaland and Wallevik has also raised this issue as part of their earlier studies (Haaland & Wallevik, 2013c). An interesting find was that four of female organisation founders had a male coordinator in

the Gambia, who would, *inter alia*, assist the founders in meetings with (male) authority representatives. Further research into a possible gender gap in PAID organisations would be interesting. If a gender gap indeed exists, one would have to ask “why?”. Thinking about this possibility made me reflect on British colonial history, where some Victorian women travelled the Empire to defy patriarchal traditions and seek independence and freedom. On the one hand, more freedom and independence were gained, but on the other hand, the women still operated within the limits of the Empire and the power structures of gender, class and race (Buzard, 1993, p. 445; McKenzie-Stearns, 2007, p. iii). Would it be possible to find a similar pattern with PAID initiators today, if the majority of them are women? Do women seek PAID organisational work as it enables them to move out of and beyond prescribed gender roles, in ways that would not be possible in Norway? Does self-transformation, which was discussed above, also include prescribed gender roles? Have the female PAID initiators assumed a position in their own lives that would not have been possible has they not forged a space for themselves in the PAID initiatives? And how are gender roles navigated in the South? Do the Norwegian women relate more to women or to men in the South? One interviewee told a story where she and her friends had attended a funeral in the Gambia. The Norwegian women were allowed to go with the men to the cemetery, even though no Gambian women came, as this is seen as a male domain. More women in the study also told of frustrating interactions with male senior officials, and they assumed that the men they encountered were not accustomed to “strong women” who would “hit their fists in the table” to get their points heard. Nevertheless, even if the Norwegian women transpose the gender roles, this is still done within structure of the Norwegian PAID organisation and where the personal norms and values of the founder are represented.

Another gender-related aspect of the interviews that struck me was the assumption that in Gambia, because the majority of the population is a Muslim, more boys than girls would attend schools. “You hear these things about Muslims”, on informant said. One organisation insisted on the ratio of pupils to be 60/40, girls to boys. Another founder insisted on 50/50, but was a bit surprised to find that the demand was superfluous, as in fact more girls than boys attended the school.

7.3 Current protest in the Gambia and PAID organisations’ focus

All of the PAID initiative founders interviewed were of the opinion that education is *the* key to development. Exactly how education would transform into other societal changes, most of the interviewees had not thought much about, and they were also not too concerned about this issue. Their development focus was on their own projects, which mainly supported very young children,

who very likely were not seen as part of the political or historical spheres (Malkki, 2015, p. 101), and thus the society beyond the project was seen as less important. In all of the conversations, the current, repressive regime in the Gambia was discussed (Human Rights Watch, 2015). All of the interviewees maintained that the Gambia is “stable”, and some actively claimed a “neutral” stance towards the regime, stating that the project is the most important focus for their PAID work. However, they also expressed concerns about how difficult it is for people to get jobs in the Gambia, and some related this to the steady migration of Gambians to Europe. As stated above under the section on “Subjective bias” (4.8.1), I work for a centre for democratic governance, and I have been married to a Gambian, who was an active opposition writer. This “baggage” has likely influenced my questions in the interviews. I attempted to link the PAID initiative founders’ concerns for the future with their focus on education, and also link this focus to the larger political and structural system of governance in the Gambia. What happens to a society if the population is educated, but there are very limited work opportunities in the country? Most of the interviewees felt that their organisations were too small to consider these big questions. Nevertheless, they still maintained that the path to development is through education.

It has been interesting to observe that only a few months after the interviews for this study were conducted, daily protests have been held in Banjul, the country’s capital (Ruble, 2016). The police and a paramilitary group, the “Jungulers”, have arrested dozens of protesters, and some high-profile political opposition leaders have died in police custody (BBC News, 2016). The protesters are not demanding better access to education or health care, the most common areas of development work for the PAID organisations, but for democratic freedom, governance and accountability, the mainstream and official development focus in Norway. In themselves, the protests are interesting, as this is the first time in 20 years that protests of this magnitude have been held in the Gambia, but further to that, it is interesting to observe that the development focus of the PAID organisations contra the wants of the Gambian people might not necessarily match.

8. Concluding remarks

It was stated at the start of this thesis that very little is known about personalised aid organisations in Norway, about who the actors are, what the organisations do, and why they get interested in this type of development aid. There are many more questions that could and should be investigated, and so far the questions outdo the answers.

This thesis has explored six Norwegian aid organisations operating in the Gambia, and although the sample size is too small to allow for any general theories to be drawn about Norwegians PAID organisations in general, findings from this study align the initiatives with European studies on the PAID phenomenon, indicating that the trends seen in European PAID organisations are also mirrored in Norwegian initiatives. This case-based study has explored some of the motivational drivers that underpin a person's choice to set up his/her own personalised aid organisation, as well as what inspires him/her to continue the work. Although it is difficult to report on motivation, the individual, internal force that influences certain behaviours, this study has nevertheless aimed to do so.

Sometimes the features and characteristics of the PAID organisations influence the motivation of the PAID initiators, and the internal and the external are at times difficult to distinguish. It has been acknowledged that a full picture is unlikely to be gained, even of the six cases studied here, as the internal driving forces of the PAID organisations' founders might have been selectively communicated during the interviews, or as Lichtenberg (2010) points out, the person's true motives may be hidden, even from themselves. Rationalising behaviour with hindsight might also obscure the actual inspiration at the time, and thus the interpretations of events present a skewed picture. It has been recognised in this thesis that reality and meaning in the world are constructed by social actors and their interactions (Bryman, 2004, p. 17). This construction of the world is interpreted at several layers by and between the social actors, in this case by and between the interviewees and me, as well as by you, the reader. Although an effort has been made to remove my "bias-glasses", it has been acknowledged that a qualitative study is never unbiased, and this one is no exception.

As already mentioned, this thesis has shown that many traits that are observed in PAID organisations in Europe are also found in this thesis' the six cases. In generalised terms, the following observations were made: The PAID organisations in this study were initiated after the founder had emotional encounters with poverty in the Gambia, and the initiatives were in many ways "accidental". The founders had not planned to become a development worker before travelling to the Gambia, and had the travel taken him or her elsewhere, it is likely that the PAID organisation would also have

operated elsewhere. In Norway, a person is free to start an organisation and to fundraise without having to formally register the activities anywhere.

The founders were drawn to this type of development work, as it allowed for a type of closeness to the aid project that merely supporting an established NGDO with money would not. The founders follow, and control, the project from A-Z. The most common investments are often tangible and concrete, such as a school building or a health clinic, but child sponsorships are also popular. One feature that is highlighted among the Norwegian PAID initiatives, but which is not so prominently featured in the European organisations, is their “no administration cost” focus, and the belief that no administration means better efficiency and effectiveness. At an output level, the organisations are often successful; the result is visible in that a school has been built, for instance. On an outcome level, the PAID organisations struggle more. The impacts of the development interventions are perhaps not considered, and are not measured. The effectiveness of the aid investments is thus not known. Measuring impact and effectiveness would also require some administration, which the PAID organisation prides itself in not having.

The founders might have befriended a man⁴ during the first stay in the Gambia, who would later become the project’s coordinator. The project coordinator, although not a development professional, but perhaps a taxi driver or a tour guide, have substantial influence over the aid project, and in many cases he will show great agency and indeed be a “recipient entrepreneur” (Haaland & Wallevik, 2016). Although an active aid agent, the local project coordinator will nevertheless be subjected to the power of the organisation’s founder.

The PAID organisations are often built around *one* person. The person has a need to retain control and a sense of ownership over the project, often resulting in projects that are poorly embedded in the local context, with little local participation. Sustainability is also questioned due to the single person’s involvement, as well as the issues around ownership. However, that the PAID founders maintain the sense of closeness to and control and ownership over the aid projects motivate the PAID initiators, both to start and to continue the work with the PAID organisations.

The PAID work gives the founders the opportunity to continue travelling and seek adventures in the Gambia, and this has been reported as a motivational factor. The travels might permit the founders to self-transform; by being somewhere else they become someone else. The informants reported that there is a “happier atmosphere” in the Gambia. The people are smiling and they themselves become happier.

⁴ In most cases the coordinator is a man. I am still to come across a female coordinator.

It was the travel that initially got the founders into the PAID work. The face-to-face encounters with poverty established a conviction in the founders that there was a need for help in the Gambia, and parts of that need could be quelled by the founder him/herself. The PAID organisations do make a difference in peoples' individual lives. The mantra that was repeated in all of the interviews was: "you can't help everyone, but everyone can help someone". However, does this development approach merely treat the symptoms of poverty and not the root causes?

This thesis has observed that in addition to the need *for* help in the Gambia, the PAID founders also experience a need *to* help. In the interviews the founders reported that there was "something" inside that drove them towards helping, something that was part of their identity. It was argued the PAID initiators would help and give, because it is the right thing to do – it feels right, because the "something" inside tells the so. By isolating the actions of helping and giving, those can be seen as altruism and a transcendence of the donor's self – the need *for* help might be alleviated. However, helping and giving also contribute to a feeling of "warm glow" in the donor, a sense of gratification. The need *to* help has been satisfied. The seemingly altruistic behaviour has become self-interested and has contributed towards the donor's self-actualisation, and his/her identity as someone who is a helper has been boosted. This argument was illustrated in chapter 3, by this figure:

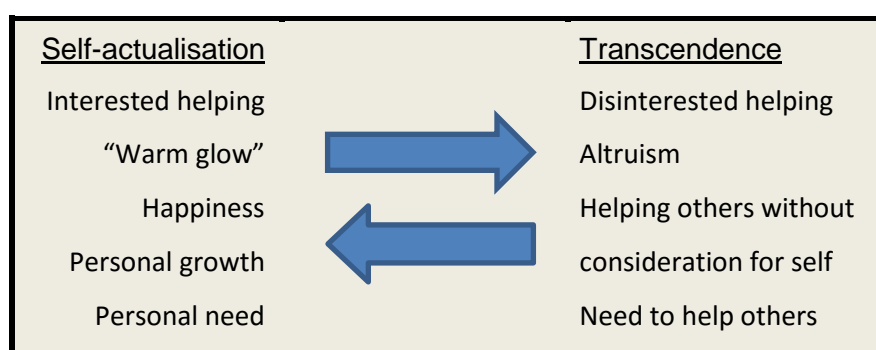


Figure 3: Interaction between self-actualisation and transcendence

In addition to the need *for* help and the need *to* help, this thesis has raised the question: Are good intentions enough? The PAID founders are not development professionals and their organisations lack the development knowledge that the established NGOs and the wider development aid architecture possess. This study has shown that the PAID founders do not have a particular interest in the development debates in Norway. The PAID organisations are too small for these debates to be relevant, the PAID founders would argue. The absence of experience and knowledge means that the

PAID organisations sometimes walk straight into known pitfalls, and earlier mistakes are repeated (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009, p. 918; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 56; Pollet et al., 2014, p. 37). Both the main focus areas of the PAID organisations; education, sanitation and health, and their implementation approach; little local participation and agency by the recipient, coupled with heavy control and a strong sense of ownership by the donors, reflect a throwback to the mainstream development aid as it was implemented in the 1970s. Haaland and Wallevik (2016) suggest that the lack of knowledge is perhaps also a lack of interest in knowing; that the PAID initiatives engage (intentionally or not) in a civilising type of development aid; the Western approach and knowledge is hegemonic.

An interesting finding in this study is that the PAID initiators, despite their lack of knowledge and possibly interest in what official Norwegian development aid is and should be, feel that they represent the Norwegian people, Norwegian values and even Norwegian development aid in the Gambia. A lot more research is needed on the PAID organisations in Norway to gain an overview and understanding of the PAID phenomena. A starting point would be to for the established aid regime to recognise the existence of PAID initiatives and to acknowledge that the Norwegian aid landscape encompass more actors than the current official picture reflects. That Norwegian aid is being represented abroad by agents not recognised at home should spark an official interest in the PAID phenomena.

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Appendices

Appendix I - The email to organisations

Kjære XXX,

Jeg håper du synes det er greit jeg kontakter deg på denne måten! Jeg har funnet informasjon om deg og din organisasjon, XXX, via internett / via XXX, som er min kollega, og som også er tidligere kollega av XXX.

Mitt navn er June Fylkesnes, og jeg er en mastergradsstudent ved Universitetet i Agder, på studiet «Development Management». Jeg holder på med min masteroppgave (innlevering i mai i år!), som skal omhandle en studie av såkalt «personliggjort bistand». Min oppgave skal se spesielt på personer som har startet og driver sin egen organisasjon, og interessen min går særlig på motivasjonen bak et slikt initiativ.

I denne forbindelse tar jeg altså kontakt med XXX og deg for å finne ut om du kunne tenke deg å stille opp for samtaler om dette temaet. Våre samtaler kan selvfølgelig anonymiseres, dersom det er ønskelig. Jeg tenker at samtalene kan foregå ved at jeg kommer til kontoret ditt/der du holder til, på et passende tidspunkt. En eventuell oppfølging kan forgå over epost/Messenger/Skype.

Litt om meg og min bakgrunn: Jeg heter som sagt June Fylkesnes. Jeg er 39 år og har en bachelorgrad i «Development Studies and African History» fra School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) i London. Jeg er skilt og har tre barn som er halvt gambiske - og derfor er også organisasjonen din av personlig interesse for meg. Til daglig er jeg i full jobb ved UNDP Oslo Governance Centre, så jeg tar mastergraden på deltid ved siden av jobb og barn ++.

Jeg håper at denne korte introduksjonen av prosjektet mitt og meg selv er beskrivende nok til at du har lyst til å delta i noen samtaler med meg. Spør meg gjerne dersom noe er uklart eller om du ønsker litt mer informasjon. Jeg håper å høre fra deg så snart som mulig – og håper du er positiv til å delta!

Med vennlig hilsen,

June Fylkesnes

Appendix II – The interview guide

Semi-structured interview, face-to-face, February 2016

Main research question:

What are the motivational factors behind initialising and running a “personalised” aid initiative in Norway?

Introduksjon av meg selv:			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - June Fylkesnes, bakgrunn – utdanning og jobb – litt om livet mitt - Hvorfor Master og hvorfor denne oppgaven (lite forskning på dette i Norge) 			
Topic	Main Question	Follow-Up	Prompters
Can the person's background, personal history, life experiences explain the interest in this type of development work?	Fortell meg litt om organisasjonen og dens oppbygging	<p>Hva er din rolle i org? Noen flere enn deg?</p> <p>Hvordan «fundes» prosjektet (ene)?</p> <p>Fortell litt om hvordan prosjektet settes i gang – hvem er med på å utforme planer, hvor kommer ideene fra, etc</p> <p>Hvorfor akkurat Gambia?</p> <p>Hvorfor førskole og ikke skole?</p> <p>Rapportere til gambiske myndigheter på enrollment, completion, results etc?</p> <p>Hvordan du ble involvert og engasjert?</p>	<p>Hvorfor mener du det?</p> <p>Hva føler du om det?</p> <p>Kan du fortelle litt mer om...</p> <p>Hvordan ser du på...</p> <p>Du nevnte...</p>
		Hvorfor ikke bare støtte en organisasjon som var etablert?	

	<p>Hvorfor akkurat deg?</p> <p>Kan du fortelle meg mer om når i livet du ble interessert i utviklingsspørsmål?</p>	<p>Hvordan følte du deg da du startet opp?</p> <p>Hvorfor ikke videre med organisasjonen du i utgangspunktet jobbet med?</p> <p>Hvorfor dro du med den i utgangspunktet?</p> <p>Hvorfor ble du interessert?</p> <p>Påvirkning i oppveksten?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Utdanning/Skolegang? - Bodd i utlandet i oppveksten? - Familie som var engasjert i solidaritetsspørsmål? I verden utenfor Norge? - Noe i voksen alder? 	
What drives the person to continue?	<p>Hva får deg til å fortsette? Har organisasjonen noen mål?</p> <p>Hva tenker du om prosjektet ditt og bærekraftighet? Om at det skal fortsette lenge? Uavhengig drift?</p>	<p>Hva får du ut av dette? Hva gir det deg?</p> <p>Har følelsene fra da du startet opp og slik det føles nå endret seg? Evt hvordan?</p> <p>Hvordan måler du om disse blir oppnådd? Suksess?</p> <p>Har du noen tanker om evt vekst, eller avgrenser du prosjektene og</p>	<p>Hvorfor mener du det?</p> <p>Hva føler du om det?</p> <p>Kan du fortelle litt mer om...</p> <p>Hvordan ser du</p>

	<p>Kommer du noen gang til å kaste inn håndkle? Og hva skjer da?</p> <p>Hvordan ser du på fremtiden for prosjektet ditt – og for det større samsfunnet rundt prosjektet?</p>	<p>engasjementet ditt – og støtten du mottar?</p> <p>Når og hvor stopper organisasjonen din?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - i omfang av prosjekter - i størrelse <p>Kan dele noen tanke om størrelse og omfang vs. det å være en liten bistandsaktør</p> <p>Faller hele prosjektet hvis du ikke står på? Barn uten skolegang uten deg? (Følelser?)</p> <p>Blir det noen gang ferdig? Utvikling er nådd?</p> <p>Har du noen exit-strategi?</p> <p>Avslutning på prosjektet? Eller over til noe nytt?</p>	<p>på...</p> <p>Du nevnte...</p>
<p>To what extent is the organisation's initiator aware of, interested in and aligned with/influenced by current development discourses?</p>	<p>Er du interessert i utviklingsspørsmål generelt, eller mest i ditt eget prosjekt?</p> <p>Det finnes mangel liknende organisasjoner rundt i Norge. Har du kontakt med noen av dem?</p>	<p>Lærer dere av hverandre?</p> <p>Samarbeider dere, eller er dere konkurrenter?</p>	<p>Hvorfor mener du det?</p> <p>Hva føler du om det?</p> <p>Kan du fortelle litt mer om...</p>

	<p>Føler du at det som diskuteres i Norge, i NORAD, i store organisasjoner, som f.eks. Plan Norge og Redd Barna, er av interesser og aktuelt for din organisasjon?</p> <p>Følger du med på debatter, både internasjonalt, om hva utvikling er eller bør være?</p> <p>Tilbake til hvordan prosjekter settes i gang: hvem bestemmer? Medbestemmelse fra dem som bor i samfunnet du jobber i? Representasjon – rep de de som de sier de rep? Kvinner, barn innflytelse som i Norge?</p> <p>I Norge nå, statsing på jenters utdanning som bærebjelke for utvikling – innflytelse på ditt arbeid/endret seg ?</p>	<p>Hvordan synes du denne tenkingen/disse debattene påvirker ditt arbeide?</p> <p>Innlemmet som del «den norske bistanden» eller være helt uavhengig aktør på sidelinjen?</p>	<p>Hvordan ser du på...</p> <p>Du nevnte...</p>
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	<p>Også nå mer fokus på private donorer, selv om kanskje ikke de eller minste organisasjonene er mye diskutert. Hva er ditt syn på privat bistand?</p>		
Maybe questions	<p>I Gambia har man et styresett som nært kan kalles et enevelde/diktatur. Hvordan er det å jobbe i et slikt land?</p> <p>Hvordan ser du på det å innta en rolle som vi her i Norge anser som å være statens ansvar – utdanning. Tenker du på at du kan bli oppfattet som statens representant ovenfor befolkningen?</p> <p>Hvilke tanker har du om at du frigjør staten fra ansvaret sitt, og dermed frigjør statlige midler som heller brukes av den gambiske staten? At staten unngår å måtte stå til rette for at penger til utdanning ikke går til det, men til staten selv – for andre tar på seg regningen?</p>		

	<p>Eller gjennom utdanning så kan folk se hva som kan gjøres annerledes?</p> <p>Utvikling i et langtiddperspektiv – at utdanning gir potensiale for strukturelle endringer i samfunnet?</p>		
AOB	<p>Er det noe annet du vil legge til til det vi har snakket om?</p> <p>Er det noe vi ikke har snakket om?</p>		

TUSEN TAKK!!

Appendix III – The email interview

Hei,

Takk igjen for at du har sagt deg villig til å fortelle mer om XXX og din rolle i organisasjonen. Som du vet vil informasjonen jeg får fra deg bli brukt som del av min masteroppgave, som jeg skriver om «personliggjort bistand».

Et enkelt Google-søk viser at det finnes hundrevis, om ikke tusenvis, av små, personlige/private organisasjoner rundt om i landet, som driver et variert bistandsarbeid i mange ulike land. I Norge finnes det svært lite forskning på hva disse organisasjonene gjør, hvem personene bak organisasjonene er, hvordan prosjekter blir valg og gjennomført osv.

Min lille studie er et bidrag til å belyse noen sider ved disse små organisasjonene – og ditt bidrag fra XXX «feeder» inn i mitt bidrag.

Fint om du kan har mulighet til å svare så utfyllende som mulig på spørsmålene under. Jeg har satt inn en del underspørsmål, men ikke føl deg begrenset av disse – svar gjerne på ting jeg ikke har nevnt som del underordnede spørsmålene. Tusen takk igjen for at du tar deg tid til å delta og å svare på spørsmålene mine.

1: Kan du fortelle meg litt generelt om XXX og organisasjonens oppbygging?

Underspørsmål:

Hvordan ble XXX til? Når stiftet? Registret som stiftelse/forening/organisasjon i Norge? Styre i Norge? Ansatte i Gambia støttet direkte av XXX? Samarbeidspartnere? Hvilke prosjekter driver XXX? Tilbud ut over førskolegang (helsesjekk etc?). Fortell litt om hvordan prosjekter settes i gang – hvem er med på å utforme planer, hvor kommer ideene fra, etc. Hvorfor akkurat Gambia? Hvordan «fundraiser» dere til prosjektet/ene? Faddere? Hvor mange? Hvorfor førskole og ikke skole? Hvor mange barn og ansatte blir støttet XXX? Annet?

Svar:

2: Hva tenker du om fremtiden for prosjektet(ene) deres?

Underspørsmål:

Har organisasjonen noen mål? Hva skjer evt. når disse er nådd? Har dere planer om flere prosjekter? Avsluttes arbeidet noen gang? Har XXX en exit-strategi? Kan prosjektet bestå uten støtte fra XXX? Er det et mål at driften av førskolen (andre prosjekt?) skal bli tatt over lokalt, og hvordan er evt. planen for dette? Er faddere knyttet direkte til et barn? Hvis en fadder trekker seg, hva skjer med barnet som er uten sponsor?

Svar:

3: Hvordan du ble involvert og engasjert i XXX?

Underspørsmål:

Hva var bakgrunnen/motivasjonen din for å starte en egen organisasjon? Hvorfor ville du engasjere deg? Hvorfor ikke bare støtte en organisasjon som var etablert, som f.eks. Plan Norge eller SOS Barnebyer? Hva er din rolle i organisasjonen?

Svar:

4: Hva får deg til å fortsette å være engasjert?

Underspørsmål:

Hva får *du* ut av å drive XXX? Hvis du tenker tilbake til hvordan du følte det da dere startet opp, og hvordan du føler det nå, er det likt? Eller ulikt? Og i så fall, hvordan og hvorfor, tror du? Setter organisasjonen seg mål – og hvordan måles resultatene?

Svar:

5: Det finnes mangel liknende organisasjoner rundt om i Norge. Har XXX kontakt med noen av dem, enten i Norge eller i Gambia?

Underspørsmål:

Lærer dere av hverandre? Samarbeider dere, eller er dere konkurrenter? Eller opererer dere mer alene? Og evt. hvorfor?

Svar:

6: Hva føler du at har påvirket din interesse for å drive utviklingsarbeid?

Underspørsmål:

Kan du sette fingeren på noe i oppveksten eller senere i livet som har gjort at du er interessert i utviklingsspørsmål eller i å ta initiativet til XXX (skolegang, påvirkning hjemmefra i oppveksten, religiøs eller politisk overbevisning, reising, e.l.)?

Svar:

7: Følger du med på debatter, både her hjemme og internasjonalt, om hva utvikling er eller bør være?

Underspørsmål:

Er du opptatt av utviklingsspørsmål generelt, eller er interessen din mer knyttet direkte til XXX prosjekter? Føler du at det som diskuteres i Norge, i for eksempel NORAD og i store organisasjoner, i media, er aktuelt for XXX? Hvordan påvirker dette i så fall måten dere jobber på?

Svar:

8: Hvordan opplever du å jobbe i Gambia, en mer eller mindre diktatorisk stat?

Underspørsmål: Påvirker landets styresett arbeidet deres? Har du tanker om landets styresett, eller er fokus mer på lokalt nivå, på barna dere hjelper?

Svar:

9: Er det noe annet du vil legge til? Er det noe jeg ikke har spurt om som jeg bør vite?

Svar:

Appendix IV – The follow-up email questions

Hei igjen, XXX,

Det går litt i rykk og napp fra min siden, men har omsider fått lest svarene dine ordentlig og har et par tilleggsspørsmål, hvis det er greit.

1. Kan du si litt mer om hvordan det ble/blir bestemt hvordan innsamlede penger skal brukes? Er det dere som lager en plan? Lærerne/rektor ved skolen? Koordinatoen? Er foreldrene involvert?
2. Hvordan gikk det til at førskolen ble bygget der den er? Hvem kom med innspill på hvor en førskole skulle bygges?
3. Hvordan kom dere i kontakt med "deres mann i Afrika"?
4. Betaler barn uten faddere skolepenger? Er det mange barn i nærområdet som ikke har tilbud om plass på førskolen? Eller evt. som ikke har råd til å gå på førskolen?
5. Hvorfor har dere som mål at gambiere/lokalsamfunnet skal ta over driften av førskolen selv? Var dette alltid planen fra deres side? Hvordan ser dere at dette evt kan skje? På hvilken måte? Har dere noen strategi for å trekke dere tilbake fra prosjektet, og vil det, slik dere ser det, bestå?
6. Kan du si litt mer om hvorfor dere bestemte dere for å starte XXX [egen organisasjon], og ikke bare fortsette å være støttespillere til XXX [samarbeidsorganisasjon i starten]?
7. Kan du si litt om evt. nettverk dere har av gambiere både i Gambia og i Norge - har dere kontakter som gir dere innspill til arbeidet deres?

Tror dette var det jeg tenkte på da jeg leste svarene dine. Kjempefint om du gidder å svare! Hvis du synes det er enklere å snakkes på Skype om dette, så er det helt OK. Bare si i fra.

Takker igjen!!!

Mvh,
June